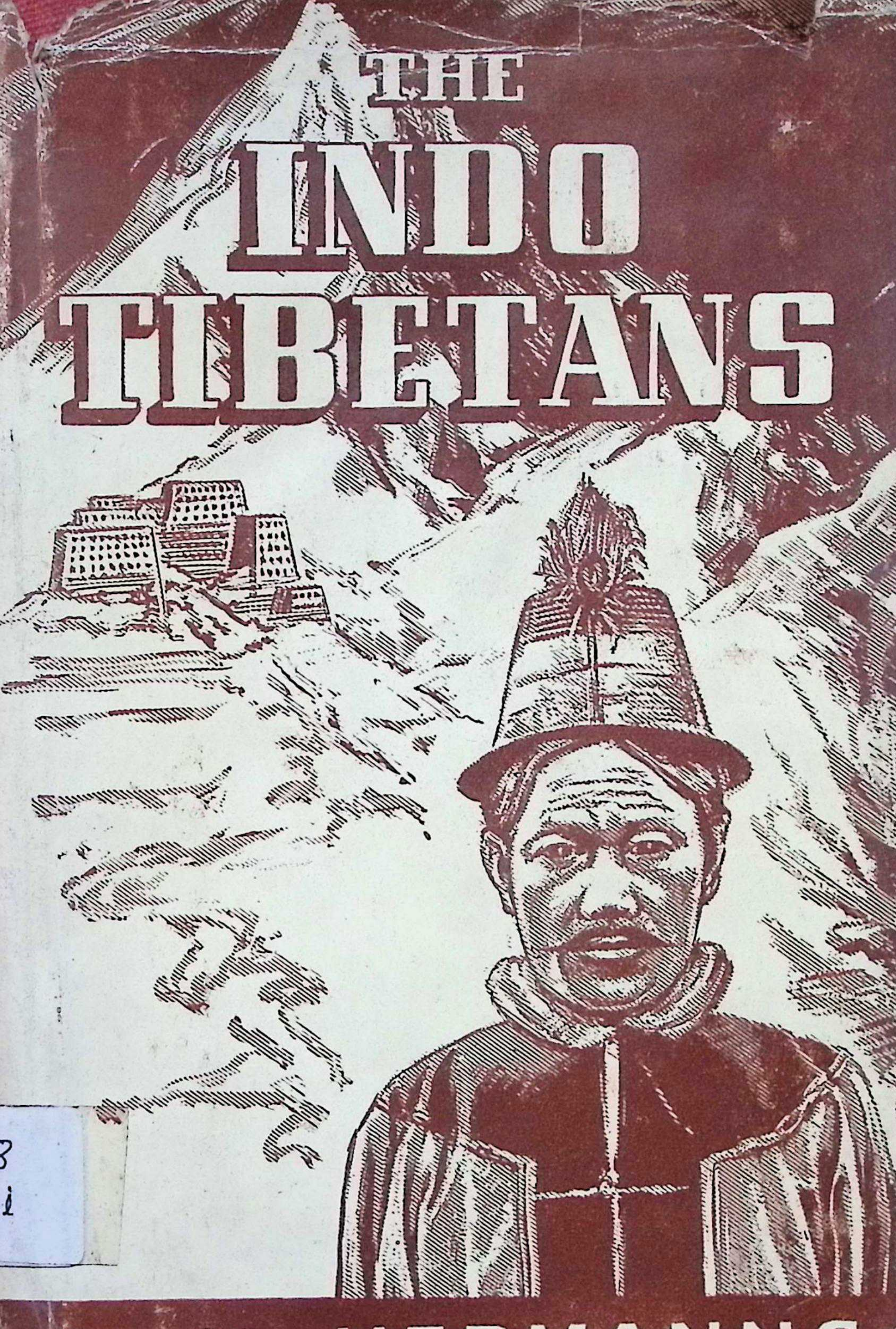
THE INDO TIBETANS



Fr. M. HERMANNS

D. R. Regmi

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THE
INDO-TIBETANS

The Indo-Tibetan and Mongoloid Problem in the Southern Himalaya and North-Northeast India

with 74 Illustrations
and one Map

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FOREWORD

The people of the Indian sub-continent form a colourful picture of various races and types of peoples. There are so many shades of skin-colourings, so many different shapes of noses, such deeply contrasting forms of the head and so many variations in facial expression, that it took a long time before the anthropologists could classify the Indian population into the main races and their sub-types.

Various classifications of Indian peoples are related in ancient literature. In the old Tamilian classics, for example, the country and its inhabitants are divided into four classes :

1. The Kurunchi, the high mountain ranges, where the Kuravas or Kuntavars roam about freely, collecting edible roots, fruits and greens, and hunting animals. They use the bark of trees, the skins of deers and tigers, and fresh green leaves to cover their nakedness. These mountain peoples are a jolly lot and make merry with song and dance. Their womenfolk sing such sweet and melodious songs, that even the wild beasts get enchanted, and depart from the wild fury of the jungle into the affectionate submissiveness of a flock of sheep. The people of Kurunchi Nilam worship Muruga as their Supreme God.

2. The forests and hills adjoining the high ranges, are called Mulai and the inhabitants of the region are named Ayars. They are cattle-breeders and manufacture ghee and curd. They gather vegetables and fruits from the forest and cultivate small areas in the woods to obtain corn. The Ayars worship Tirumal, the god of creation, preservation and destruction, and so are called Edayars. The most popular form of sport is the bull-fight. The girls of the Yadhava community regard the game as an appropriate occasion to select their future husbands, because they are desirous of having as bridegrooms only those men who have the strength and courage to bring into subjection a wild and ferocious bull.

3. When we descend into the plains, we meet with people who live in villages, who have a fairly good standard of agricultural development, who are skilled craftsmen,—men who are capable of forming governments that function properly, and who consequently live on a higher cultural level. Under

conditions such as these the different castes sprang up, and able artists, famous poets, and brave warriors are held in high esteem. Indira is worshipped as the goddess of rain, because rain is essential for cultivation, and the Indira and Pongal festivals are conducted in grand style. The country is known by the name of Marutham.

4. The last section is called Naithal, the sea-coast where the Bharathavars are the lords of the sea. They are the fishermen, pearl-divers, and the producers of salt. These people are very quarrelsome because, it would appear, they are constantly battling against storms, the high and angry waves, and the treacherous fishes. They worship Varuna who is considered the king of the sea. The classification of the people into four groups was made by the ancient Tamilians, and this indicates their awareness of the fact that different peoples and races inhabited the country.

Similar reports are recorded in Sanskrit literature. The Bhagavatha Purana describes the Nishadas as "black like crows, very low statured having high cheek bones, low tipped noses, red eyes, and copper coloured hair," and thus it pictures a race which is characterised by the black skin colour, prominent cheek bones, low nose, reddish-brown hair and short stature. To identify this type with the Dravidian race, as Risley did, is out of the question, because the Indids have just the opposite characteristics. Other primitive people are called Shabavas, Pulindas, and Dasa-Dasyus. Some scholars identified the latter with the Dravidians, but the real meaning of the name is "without a nose," an ironical way of remarking the little noses that these people possess. The cave dwellers in the high mountains— probably the Himalayas—are called Kiratas, who are regarded as being "similar to gold" because of the yellow shade of their skin. It is difficult to identify the ancient people with the modern races, because one must bear in mind that the authors of the Sanskrit texts were living in North and North-West India, while the Tamilian writers lived in the south, and the people mentioned by them must be looked upon in the light of their respective neighbourhoods.

The great anthropologists took a long time to distinguish between the various races of India. As their reports had been based on the reports of travellers. they were able to give the somatic and psychological details of only a few races,—and the anthropologists gave them names that were not compatible with the cultural groups to which they belonged. Thus Meiners (1813) pictured the Indid race, but Bory (1825) gave the type the name of *Homo sapiens indicus*. Another race was the dark-coloured type and was distinguishable from the third—the primitive jungle tribes. It took however many decades to draw a clear line of distinction between the three main sections and to give them their respective names because physical differences were always confused with names taken from the linguistic groups like Aryans, Dravidians, Mundarians, etc.

Dalton (1872) took pains to distinguish carefully and accurately between some more types. He laid special emphasis on the Veddid, the Melanid, and—for the first time—on the Mongoloid element, which he found among the Hos and especially among the Juangs, among whom are to be found individuals with markedly Mongolian slit eyes. A further clarification of this point was achieved in the south by the Sarasins (1893) through their research work among the Veddas of Ceylon. The Sarasins connected the Veddas of Ceylon with some mountain tribes and low caste people of South India, and grouped them all under the common title "Veddaic tribes." The Sarasins were of the opinion that the Veddic race was the forerunner of the modern Indian races, but they considered the Dravidians as being in some ways connected with the Austroloids. The opinions of subsequent research workers were always conflicting and the situation remained confused.

Schmidt (1889) laid stress on the fact that the anthropological groupings do not coincide with the linguistic groups and classified the Indians into four classes : (1) the narrow-nosed, fair-skinned group, (2) the broad-nosed, fair-skinned group, (3) the narrow-nosed, dark-skinned and (4) the broad-nosed, dark-skinned group. Anthropologists like Deniker (1900), Sergi (1908), and Ruggeri (1912) accepted this classification. Thurston (1909) also followed the same grouping and is falsely regarded as the originator of the scheme.

Lapicque and others were mainly concerned about the Negrito raceandIndia fell a prey to the "Pan-Negrito-Theory."

Keane (1909) was also of the opinion that the primitive people of South India belonged to the Negrito race which, he presumed, was the primary racial stratum of the entire peninsula. Guha (1935) supports this view while Risley denies it. Risley finally classified the races of India as follows: 1. Turko-Iranian, 2. Indo-Aryan, 3. Scytho-Dravidian, 4. Aryo-Dravidian or the Hindustani type, 5. Mongolo-Dravidian or the Bengali type, 6. Mongoloid, 7. Dravidian. Even in this case the linguistic terminology is intermingled with anthropological names.

The following are the most disputed questions: Were the Negritos an old substratum in India particularly in the south? Did the Mongoloid strain reach as far as North-West Deccan and was it connected with the Munda speaking people? There exists a great difference of opinion among scholars on these points. Eickstedt, an anthropologist who spent several years doing research work in India, Ceylon, Burma and Indo-China, is convinced that the most important race in India are the Indids who comprise several sub-races: the Grace Indids (or Indids proper); the sub-types are Keralids and Himalayids, the Indo-Afghans in the north (the Punjabis and even the Todas in the Nilgiris); the Brachids (short-headed) in Maharashtra, Bengal-Orissa, Doab. These Indids are the heirs of the Mohenjodaro culture and the representatives of the Dravidians, he assumed. Their central and north-western sections were strongly influenced by Inner Asiatic influxes, *i.e.* by the Aryans whose racial component was entirely amalgamated, so that no strain is left to any remarkable degree. The invasions of the Macedonians, Greeks, Sakas, Scythians, White Huns, Turks, Afghans, and "Moguls" introduced a strong oriental strain. In the north-east there appeared a Palaeomongoloid element infiltrating probably between 3000 and 1000 B.C.

In the south there exists a different admixture which only goes to show that the Indid race is at its very root, related to the second great Indian race, the Veddid. They have perhaps the most primitive form of life in India. The characteristics of the Veddids are: infantile somatic forms; round face with steep front; snub nose with broad and flat nostrils; the lower section of the face is small and not protruding with a somewhat receding chin. The Veddas have the smallest brain capacity to be found in modern man with an average of 1,250 c.c. The sub-types of the Veddids are : the North Gondids, predominant in North Deccan (Oraons), Central Gondids (Mardias), the Malids in South India (Panyer, Kadar, Kurumbas) with a proto-Negritoid element ; and the Veddas of Ceylon.

Forcible contact between the Veddids and Indids has probably given rise to the Melanids, a secondary race, which is to be found among the middle class Tamilians of the south, especially in Karnat. They should also be the main type of the Mundas like the Santals and Hos. Their main characteristic is the very dark colour of the skin ; except this, they show an "Indo-European complex." The Tamilians are of exactly the same somatic type as the Keralids who are considered to be a special sub-type of the Grace Indids.

Just as the Melandis are a mixed race which might have arisen from the pressure of the Indids on the Veddids, so it is possible that the Malids have originated from the pressing contact of the Veddids with another race, probably a Negritoid race. Thus Eickstedt admits that the Negritos are a component in the Indian race-formation. The Negritoid strain is still visible among many hill tribes of South India. The same is the case with the Austroloid element which Eickstedt denies but others, like Hutton and Iyer, affirm. According to these authors the Negritos were the first settlers in India and they were displaced in very early times by the proto-Austroloids, who constituted the most important section of the Indian aboriginals.

We see, therefore, that anthropologists have various and often conflicting opinions about the races and sub-races of India, their origin, and their development. Our own conviction is that there are many more main races and sub-races in the vast Indian sub-continent where primitive people have preserved their originality in the inaccessible mountains and impenetrable forests, where a rigorous caste system, depending in the first instance on racial discriminations, had built up insurmountable colour and race bars many millenniums ago. The view that there was only one single primitive race in India in the very early days is utterly untenable. Human history is, indeed, much more complicated than would appear at first sight.

How old is mankind in India? Some 100,000 years ago various peoples of the lower palaeolithic age were already iiving in the land. In the north-west, in Pakistan (especially ln Powar region) there lived the Soan flake-makers producing typical stone tools in great variety. But in Chauntra we have the meeting place of the flake-makers and the hand-axe-makers. Hand-axes of Acheulian type appear side by side with Pre-Soan choppers and Early Soan flaxes in terraces 1 and 2 of the Narbada valley. In the Sabarmathi valley, Gujerat, palaeolithic man appeared first during the dry climate of a Silt phase in the third glacial period, using stone implements of the Soan and the Middle and Late Acheulian types. On the west coast of Bombay near Kandivli, the presence of old palaeolithic man is proved through Clactonian choppers, cores, and scrapers and by hand-axes of Abbevillian and Acheulian types. Excellent profiles of geological strata are preserved in the Madras area especially at Vadamadurai and Attirampakkam in the Kortalayar river valley. The oldest known artifacts there are rude hand-axes of Abbevillian form, which were produced without much retouching. They are followed by hand-axes of an advanced Middle Acheulian and of the upper group of Late Acheulian type.

The prehistory of India is still in its initial stages, and only a very few of the sites of palaeolithic man are known. Unfortunately no skulls of palaeolithic man have been excavated in India. The different types of stone tools reveal the fact that the makers of these implements belong to various races as is evidenced by the palaeolithic periods in Europe, Africa, Java and China. We are quite sure that there were already fossil races in India of the types of Archanthropus, Palaeoanthropus and Neoanthropus.

The situation is even worse for the mesolithic stone age which follows the palaeolithic times. The characteristic implements of this period are microliths, very small tools made of silicate materials such as agate, jasper, quartz, etc. These implements have been unearthed in Pakistan (Peshawar, Karachi, Shapur), in Kashmir (Pampur and Sambur), Bihar (Seraikela), Tinnevelly (Sawyerpuram), Gujerat (Hirpura, Langhnaj, Velasa), Bombay (Kandivli), Madhya Pradesh (Singhanpur, Hoshangabad, Pachmari), in the

Narbada valley, in Uttar Pradesh (Mirzapur near Kota), etc. Thus we see that microliths are widely distributed in India. They bear a close resemblance to the microlithic type of the Mediterranean region, which is called Capsian. The mesolithic man was succeeded by the neolithic man, who leads us out of the darkness of prehistory to the light of historical times.

The fossils of palaeolithic man are, as we said above, not to be found in India. The most important fossil remains are those from Bayana and Aditanallur (Agra, Madras). At Aditanallur skulls and certain bones were found in burial urns. The dolichocephalic skulls were not mineralized and resembled those of the Australoid type. Metal utensils were found together with the urns and this fact makes it clear that the people do not belong to the stone age but to the megalithic culture.

The geological age of the fossilized Bayana skull near Agra is unknown, but it does not greatly differ in shape from the skulls of the people who live in the district at the present day. The Langhnaj skeletons in the Sabarmati basin, Gujerat, are associated with a microlithic industry, but as they are immediately followed by microliths of the iron age, they could not be so very old.

The Mohenjodaro skulls throw more light on the racial composition of the Indian population. Nearly half the number of skulls belong to a Mediterranean type which is very widely spread throughout India and is represented by the Indids. Three of the skulls have proto-Austroloid or, as others are inclined to believe, a Veddid appearance. There are besides, a few short-headed skulls of a brachycephalic type, which is also known in India. One skull from a burial site has a typical Mongoloid shape. And so it is that the skeletons of the Mohenjodaro culture reveal different types which are to be found in India even today.

The palaeolithic and mesolithic industries and the neolithic human fossils enable us to draw some very important conclusions. India has been inhabited by different races since the lower palaeolithic period—roughly about 500,000 years ago. The fossil *Homo sapiens* certainly was one of them. These races were nomadic hunters, living on the produce of the forests. Agriculture and cattle-breeding were unknown until mesolithic times. All the primitive fossil races on earth died out with the exception of the *Homo sapiens fossilis*, who absorbed into himself the remainder of his primitive contemporaries. This occurred in all the continents and India could be no exception. All modern races developed from the *Homo aspiens fossilis*. This is the second general rule which applies to the whole world ; and hence the law is equally applicable to India.

Bearing in mind this general line of human development we are compelled to conclude that the primitive races of India emerged from the Indian *Homo sapiens fossilis* ; and that means that the Australoids, the Negritoids and the Veddids of India have been born and bred in India itself. There is not the slightest reason to suppose that the Indian fossil races died out completely or were destroyed by invading Australoids, Negritoids and Veddids who came in from elsewhere. Even in recent times some of the primitive tribes of Travancore-Cochin have the same economic status as that of the palaeolithic people, living as hunters and food-gatherers in the virgin forests. What is more striking is the fact that some of them did not even attain the status of the stoneage people for they did not even know how to produce a stone implement. Other tribes like the Kanikar, the Mala Kuravan, Mala Vetan, etc., were compelled to undertake a little cultivation because they lost their hunting grounds and the forests that provided them with food.

In the case of the Palaeomongoloids of India, the problem is entirely different. The main purpose of this book has been to solve this problem, or at least to throw some more light on it. During our long stay in China and Tibet (1929-1947) we had the best opportunities to make a study of the Mongoloids. The results of our investigation have been published in our books, "The Origin and Development of China" (1935) and "The Nomads of Tibet" (1949). In continuation of these studies and in order to trace the Mongoloid influence on Indian culture we carried out some research in Sikkim (1951). Our field-work among the Bhils (1952) and among the hill tribes of Travancore-Cochin (1953-54) enables us to study other problems of Indian culture and anthropology.

We wish to express our best thanks to Mgr. Gianora and to the missionaries of Darjeeling and Kalimpong area for their generous support of our research work. It is our pleasant duty to say our sincere thanks to the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust for the generous grant to make the publication of this book possible.

Fr. Matthias Hermanns SVD

Bandra, Bombay

8 Sept. 1954

CHAPTER I

THE MONGOLOIDS

The Southern Himalayan mountains in Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, with their steep and narrow valleys and many tracts of land difficult of access, offer a favourable retreat for racial remnants. What surprised us most about these various groups of peoples was the medley of Mongoloids and non-Mongoloids. Both these groups stand in deep contrast to those Aryans who immigrated from India: Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Kamis, etc., and who can be differentiated at first glance by their Aryan features, —the long narrow face, the high narrow bridge of the nose, the large open eyes, and the colour of the skin, which in the case of the Kamis is often dark brown.

The Aryans are the most recent group who penetrated into the Himalayan mountains of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan and gained great prestige as the Gurkhas, who in 1768 conquered Nepal, and following up their triumph, spread also into the neighbouring countries. We shall entirely exclude these Aryans from this investigation of the individual tribes. When we speak of the non-Mongoloid types, we exclude the Aryans from the connotation of this term. These non-Mongoloids have nothing racially or linguistically in common with the Aryans. In the second part of this treatise, however, we shall compare the culture of the non-Mongoloids and the Mongoloids with the Aryan culture.

The Mongoloids are the most numerous among the races of mankind. There are many variants among them. Racial characteristics appear in an extreme form amongst the typical Mongols. The cheek bones are very strongly developed; the nose very low-bridged. A line drawn horizontally from the cheek bones does not touch the bridge of the nose. The face is particularly flat. The body is long and thickset. The legs are not half as long as the body, and this gives rise to the inharmonious proportions and heavy walk. It is most unfortunate that the whole race should derive its name from the people with the most exaggerated characteristics. Moreover, the Mongols are both racially and nationally, a very young and a very mixed group. Europoid forms occur among them also.

The Mongoloids are a particular development and represent a strong specialization "which branched off fairly late from the 'middle line.' "[1] They followed their own line of development and greatly expanded. In neolithic times the Mongoloids had not yet settled in Southern Siberia and the adjoining region of Mongolia. The people of the Afanasievo culture have an accentuated dolichocephalic skull. "They show that we find here Europoid types which are somewhat different from the modern representatives of that race."[2] Afanasievo is dated at about 2200 B.C. In the Andronovo culture which followed later (2000-1700 B.C.) the skulls are a little shorter and wider and are mesocephalic. Yet this type is closely bound with Afanasievo and still manifests Europoid features. It is only in the later strata of the Karasuk (1200-700 B.C.) that the skulls are strongly brachycephalic; the nose is flat, the face high, the forehead narrow and sloping and the eye brows not pronounced. These are, however, the typical Mongoloid elements. "The Karasuk must be looked upon as a mixed culture practised by a population which is likewise mixed. A migration from the Chinese borderland to the Minusinsk Basin at the beginning of the first millennium B.C. must lead, of course, to a thorough revision of our concept of the cultural structure of Siberia. The migration, moreover, has essential consequences for our knowledge of the Chinese borderland. It was here that the movement started. The emigrants were the relatives of the people who produced the Karasuk-like Ordos bronzes, or they were even identical with them. Since, at Minusinsk, they resemble the stock of the North Chinese population, they must have had the same characteristics in their own country."[3] We should have here also, the first prehistoric proof for Mongoloids who pushed forward from North China to Siberia.

The discovery of skeletons dating from neolithic times in Kan su are very revealing. They show a combination of different characteristics and are supposed to conform roughly to the modern North Chinese type or *Homo asiaticus proprius*.

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1. M. Weninger, Aus der Frühzeit der Menschheit, Vienna, 1948, p. 72.
2. K. Jettmar. The Karasuk culture and its South Eastern Affinities. BFEA, Stockholm, 1950, No. 22, p. 113.
3. op. cit. p. 116.

Mongoloid features are less strong among the Northern Chinese who are often taller and have a long face and a large narrow nose. Among the neolithic skeletons a greatly deviating type can be differentiated. "On this account, it might be suggested that the occurrence of the 'Type X' skull in Kan su was to be explained as due to a mixture of western (Europoid M.H.) and proto-Chinese strains."[4] Kan su is the bridge which joins China to Inner Asia. It is on this bridge that we see the Mongoloids from the south-east push forward out of China into Inner Asia, although the painted Yang-shau pottery went the opposite way.

The advance of Mongoloids to Minusinsk appears at first to be merely an isolated effort. "The west is Europoid and remains Europoid. Nor can any Mongoloids be found in the period in question in the near south and south-east, *e.g.* in Tuva."[5] Later on the Mongoloids could not be halted even in the district of Minusinsk. "In the Tagar time (700-100 B.C.) these racial boundaries no longer existed. The Minusinsk Basin again became part of the vast region of Europoid races, though the cultural structure was not subjected to any repeated change."[6] A racial change is first noticeable in the Scythian epoch. "In spite of the apparent uniformity of the Scythian world, immense changes are effected. Naturally these cannot be recognised in the metal inventory, but only in the burial sites, and in anthropological material. By this time the zones between Transbaikalia, Northern Mongolia and Tuva have become united to form a cultural province which is characterised by the stone tombs. In this cultural province are found the broad-faced Siberian Mongoloids. The Mongoloid elements which probably belonged to the Turks and the Mongols as we now know them, go well together with the idea of 'Knighthood'... These invaders became more and more powerful in the Altai, occupying the whole region between Minusinsk and Ordos. We may well suppose that they have sealed the fate of the 'Sinides' in Mongolia and the North Chinese borderland. The Huns coming from still

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4. D. Black, Mem. of the Geo. Survey of China, Peking, 1928, p. 55.
5. K. Jettmar, op. cit. 114, note. 4.
6. op. cit. p. 122.

further north put the finishing touches to this process of 'Turkization.' "[7]

The establishment of the fact that the Mongoloids did not have their original home in Mongolia but that they trickled relatively late into Inner Asia from China is of special importance to our investigation, as it refutes the theory which holds that the Mongoloid elements in the Southern Himalayas penetrated into this area over Tibet *from* Mongolia. The Mongoloids in Tibet and the Southern Himalayas may be older than those in Mongolia. The Mongoloids originated in the Chinese area, and spread thence in all directions. Many Mongoloid variants were formed here, because the most multifarious movements of peoples and mixing of races occurred in this area. The Mongoloid elements cannot be traced back to the Mongols ; even so, the Europoids cannot be traced back to the Indo-Europeans, as some authors maintain with regard to the Eskimo,[8] and to the Miau, the Lolo, and the Yau.[9] The Indo-European influence is said to have affected the Palaeomongols even as far as South-East Asia.[10] By this is meant, as has already been emphasized, rather the influence of the Indian Aryans than the influence of the Inner Asiatic Indo-Europeans. Such Europoids may have been driven into East Tibet, and thence their influence may have spread further south.[11]

The fact that the Asiatic Europoids are an independently developed racial element in Asia is entirely overlooked. Here, too, the heritage of *Homo sapiens diluvialis* can be traced to the fossil man of upper palaeolithic times. In the old stone age there were only long skulls. The first rounded skulls are known only from the end of the palaeolithic times. Upper palaeolithic man already had, however, many variants which, it is true, had certain similarities, *e.g.* the longer foreheads, although they are somewhat lower than in modern man. The well-domed forehead rises somewhat obliquely and has moderately formed brow prominences. The chin is well developed. Skulls with such characteristics are found in the upper caves of Dshou kou dien. "The most remarkable feature of these skulls is that they show no Mongolian features. The appearance of a non-Mongolian *Homo sapiens* as an episode between the hominid Sinanthropus with its Mongoloid features and the Protochinense, which according to our finds in Honan and Kansu were well established 4000 years ago, is one of the surprises which prove that the history of mankind is much more complicated than we might at first sight be inclined to believe."[12] Eickstedt is, therefore, not referring to these when he says: "The people of the upper cave of Dshou kou dien show the Mongoloid characteristics of the flat face, the high head, and from this we can reliably assume that they already possessed more or less the Mongoloid forms of eye folds."[13] It is really also among the Sinanthropus that non-Mongolian traits are to be found. "Its cranial and dental characters are such as to imply that Sinanthropus could not have been far removed from the type of hominid which involved both the extinct Neandertaloid and Rhodesian forms of the modern *Homo sapiens*."[14] In such an undifferentiated form it is impossible to recognize the highly specialized Mongoloids in their very first beginnings. Here, Asia is in close agreement with Europe and Africa in the development of mankind, since all ancient palaeolithic finds fall within the range of the same ancient pattern of *Homo diluvialis*. This form closely resembles the Europoid with the characteristic long skull, the clearly noticeable curves of the brow, the slightly receding forehead and long narrow nose. The Mongoloids have deviated from this line as is evidenced by the straightly rising forehead, the total absence of boney eye curves and the short, broad and the no longer prominent nose.

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[7] op. cit. p. 122.

[8] H. Weinert, Die Rassen der Menschheit, Berlin-Leipzig, 1939, p. 96.

[9] E. v. Eickstedt, Rassendynamik von Ostasien, Berlin, 1944, p. 48f. 144, 153, 167.

[10] op. cit. p. 264, 273.

[11] op. cit. p. 175.

We therefore trace back the Asiatic Europoids, which we came across in Tibet and again in the Southern Himalayas, to the continued influence of the *Homo sapiens diluvialis*.

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[12] J. G. Anderson, Researches into the Prehistory of the Chinese, BFEA, N. 15, Stockholm, 1943, p. 31; compare H. Field, Contributions to the Anthropology of the Soviet Union, Washington, 1948 p. 235f.

[13] E. v. Eickstedt, op. cit. p. 26, compare p. 20.

[14] D. Black, Paleontologia Sinica S. D. V. VII. F. 11. Peiping 1931; id. On an adolescent skull of Sinanthropus Pekinensis... Geol. M. S. A. N. 11. Fossil man in China, Peiping 1933.

They could possibly survive in the areas of retreat such as the mountainous country offered to the Tibetan nomads and Southern Himalayan tribes. Elsewhere they have been absorbed by the Mongoloids who overran all the regions ; but traces of Europoid influences can still be found in the mixed components, *e.g.* in North and North-West China. Let us now turn our attention to the Southern Himalayan tribes and gauge the influence of the Mongoloid and the non-Mongoloid peoples.

CHAPTER II

THE MOUNTAIN TRIBES OF NEPAL

(*a*) The Kirat-Rai.

According to tradition the Kirati are the oldest inhabitants of Nepal. They are also called Kiranti or Kichak. These names were originally used for the Khambu or Rai, who are also called Jimdar. The name Rai is of more recent origin. As the Gurkhas conquered the land they gave the more important people among the Khambu and Yakha the title of Rai or "Chief," to the Limbu the title "Subha," which also means "Chief."

The Rai have the following tradition : Our forefathers came originally from a lake whose waters had dried up. In the centre of Nepal there was a lake which ran dry and the dry basin offered a suitable site for settlements. The first parents of the Rai were Parungo, the father, and Simnima, the mother. They begot three sons, Lapche, Jimdar and Meche. The parents sent the three sons away to live independently and find a country for themselves. The brother Lapche came across a banana tree and tried to hew it down whereupon Jimdar said to him, "If you are the kind of person that is prone to be destructive, we shall no longer stay with you," and with this Jimdar and Meche left him. Later Jimdar and Meche separated and each went his own way. And so in course of time the three tribes, Lapche, Jimdar and Meche originated. The Rai say : "We were the first farmers of Nepal and were there before the Newar and Hindus. Gradually our people grew stronger and formed 'ten,' *i.e.* numerous, tribes." Among these are the Limbu or Subha, the Khaling, Thulung, Shuotang, Bahing, Nedsa, Tara, Yakha, Lohorung, Dsamling, Bönta, Thami, Amtzöge,—to mention some of them. The main point of difference between these tribes is the peculiar dialect spoken by each one of them. (When no sources are quoted, we make our statements only according to our careful personal investigation.) From Fr. M. Wery we obtained the following tribe-names of the Rais : Ambole, Alcoke, Antapa, Athpare, Baigya, Baiyang, Bantawa, Chamling, Dungmali, Khaling, Kulung, Lohorung, Nehali, Rumtali, Sangpang, Thulung, Yakha and some others.

These people honour Bume as the deity of the farmers and consider her to be more than a mere female potentiality. At the completion of the sowing of corn the housewife must offer her a hen in sacrifice. This offering however is forbidden to the men. Dances are arranged in honour of this deity. A leader goes forward and demonstrates how it is to be performed, and the others imitate him. All the prayers and chants are recited in their own respective languages. (By the authority of the Rai Matampa from the tribe of Dsamling, who came from Nepal and has now settled in Maria-Basti near Pedong, Kalimpong.)

His brother Sösbir, made the following statement: As their Supreme God, the Rai honour Paruhong. At the outset Paruhong killed all the demons so that he could create the world without let or hindrance. He created water first. Then he made the earth come forth from the water. He created mankind to inhabit the earth, and animals at a later stage. The first man was Mina which means "man," who is also called Hodza, and the first woman, Simnima, which means "woman." The Supreme God gave man dry rice, maize and millet and taught him how to cultivate these grains in order to procure his food. In order to make the fields fertile the female deity, Bume, came forth from the Supreme God. She must be specially honoured by an offering of hens which the housewife offers, as mentioned above. The master of the house carries out the dances which are held in her honour at the time of full moon. The god Paruhong has also arranged marriage with its concomitant ceremonies.

In the above two stories narrated by the two brothers it is remarkable that the one names the first man Parungo, the other names the first man Mina or Hodza, while he names the Supreme God 'Paruhong' which sounds similar to Parungo. When his attention was drawn to this fact, Sösbir reiterated his statement that Mina was the first man, Paruhong the highest creator, and Bume a kind of female power that emanates from the creator.

Worthy of attention too is the information that the three sons of the first man are called Lapche, Jimdar and Meche, which are the names of the three oldest tribes of the country.

A Rai of Gid biyong listed the following tribes of the Rai: Nedsali, Dsamling, Sangpang, Hoduali, Yakdung, Waling, Hangkun, Dzogkang, Mululang, Isara, Kulung, Thulung, Bungtheng, Khaling, Sotangmang dewa, Dzamrase, Bangdale, Songdale, Damgule. He stated that the language, Böntawa, was spoken by the following tribes :— Waling, Hoduali, Dzogkang, Isara, Khaptna, Mululang, Sogtän, Sawali, Luhun, Yakdung, Dilumpa, Dilpali, Newahang, Rupabung. The other tribes had different dialects.

Another tradition gives the following tribal names :— Athpahare, Dsamling, Dsaurasia, Bangtawa, Kulung, Lohorung, Thulung, Nawahang, Sangpang, Nehali. As there are many sub-tribes the choice of names often differs.

Another Rai named the following tribes as the Tibetan Rai :—Khaling, Thulung, Rachali, Palali, Songdäl, Bangdäl, Damdzän. Some of the Rai who settled in the neighbourhood of the Hindus have their myths and traditions strongly influenced by Hinduism. For three days after death, food has to be prepared for the dead. The wife, brother and other relations of the dead may not eat salt during these three days. When three days have elapsed, the oldest people come and say, "The dead shall not return to molest the living any more." After that the mourners can eat any food they choose.

The tradition of the Rai is confirmed by legends. In the mythological period it is said: In ancient times Nepal was covered by a large lake encompassed by high mountains. A deity opened a crevice so that the waters of the lake could run out. A large valley then appeared. As the earth grew dry the first settlers could live there. They came from the north. The very first settlers were the Kirati, who came there in the 15000th year of the Dwapar Ingar and ruled the land for ten thousand years. After the Kirati the gods dwelt in the land. Dharmadatta Raja ruled for 1000 years. After him the land was without a king for another 1000 years. Bisalnagara lasted during 2000 years. When Buddha visited the land it was ruled over by a Kirati Raja. Thus the most diverse sources indicate that the Kirati or Rai were the oldest inhabitants of the land.[15]

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[15] G. S. Lévi, Le Nepal, Paris 1905, Vol. I, p. 72 sq.

The Rai are also the most numerous of the tribes of Nepal. As a general rule they are characterised by strong Mongolian features. The Mongolian eyes are specially noticeable among the children. Occasionally, among the older people, I came across a fairly wide open eye without the typical Mongolian fold. The long faces of the Rai prove that they have undergone some intermixture. (Fig. 1-3)

(*b*) THE LIMBU.

The Limbu and the Rai are supposed to be the two constituents of the Kirati. The original home of the Limbu is the district of Jangrup. This is the name of the river which divides the districts of the Limbu and the Rai. Today the river Arun is the dividing line. The Limbu occupied the land as far as Sikkim where they were known as the Tzong pa by the Tibetans. In this area they called themselves Yaktampa or Ektampu. In Nepal, the Limbu district is called Dumriche, which is adjacent to the frontiers of Nepal, Sikkim and Tibet. In the days of old the Limbu had no kings; they were subordinate only to individual group-leaders until the king of Nepal brought them under his jurisdiction. The Limbu can be classified under two main heads: the Tzotore kewa, who speak a slightly differing language, and the Junga, who in turn are divided into many sub-tribes: Satda, Pago, Nugo, Mejangbo, Hellug, Lingden, Tchigtzaba, Samba, Nembang, Hanggam, Songbangbe, Lochsom, Kamdachba, Soodung, Kambang, Sendang, Pedaphe, Nakkim, Seren. The Limbu are also called "Subha." Fr. M. Wery has also mentioned the following tribe-names: Athrai, Bakkim, Carkhola, Charbiya, Chemjong, Hurpa, Kambang, Libang, Lingden, Locksom, Mademba Mahbo, Nalibo, Phenduwa, Samba, Sanwa, Sering, Sonpangpe, Takeling, Tamiling, Thegim, Yongya, Yangrup, Yungwa.

The Supreme God of the Limbu is Niwa-Buma. This God appears under various forms: as an old man or as a young lad, as a dignified woman or as a pretty young girl. He is the creator of all things. At first he created the world, and then man. He formed the first man out of gold, but before creation was complete, as "the man was just beginning to speak," *i.e.* just before a soul was infused into it, a monster appeared in the form of a horse and destroyed the golden man. The monster had been moved to envy because God had made man so well. God was indignant with the horse and punished it for having destroyed the perfect masterpiece of his creative genius. Hitherto the horse had been able to walk upright on his hind legs ; henceforth, as a punishment, it was compelled to walk on all fours and serve as a beast of burden.

God set to work again and created another man from ashes and the offal of poultry. This man was the first Limbu. God created the woman in exactly the same manner. Nothing more is known about the names of these two prototypes of the race.

In the creation of the world, God created first the earth and then the water. As the world was quite new everything ran smoothly and the first inhabitants of earth had a peaceful and comfortable life. Without undue anxiety and effort they were able to procure their livelihood. God gave them seeds to sow : maki, maize ; ihena, millet ; ya, dry-rice (not water-rice). God also created animals and gave them to man. They were pag, the pig ; garongbi, a small-sized cattle which did not live on grass but on excrements ; the sheep, bera ; (the Tibetan sheep, banglug did not as yet exist) the goat, mendag ; the hen, wa ; the dog and the fish. The water-buffallo was non-existent in the very early times and the horse was the enemy of man. When God walked on the earth, springs bubbled up wherever his feet touched the ground.

When the Limbu offer sacrifices to the deity they observe the following ritual : Three pairs of banana leaves are placed in a row on a clean spot of ground. A banana leaf plate is laid on the pair in the centre and bamboo vessels are put on the pairs on either side. Millet and fermented Kesung are poured into the vessels and they are filled with water. (May be millet beer had its origin in this manner.) After the completion of these initial preparations the one who offers the sacrifice invites God with the words : "Come ; I offer you pig, rice and beer." At this invocation God comes down to earth. The man then kills the pig by piercing it with a lance from behind the shoulder blade, penetrating the heart and passing right through the body. The body is cut up and a little piece is taken from each part. These pieces serve as the proper sacrificial offerings. Meanwhile the rice has been cooked. The preliminary preparations being complete, some of the blood is poured on the leaves in the centre, where the plate will be placed. The one who performs the sacrifice fills the banana leaf plate with the cooked rice and the selected pieces of meat and deposits it on the leaves in the centre. He then offers the sacrifice to the deity saying, "Come hither, Lord, for we have prepared the meat, the rice, and the beer. Accept them, and do not be angry with us." The remainder of the meat is consumed by the people in a kind of sacrificial meal.

When no pig is available, a sheep, duck, fish or water-buffalo, in that sequence, may be offered. These sacrifices may be offered every year, but only by someone who is called "Pedangma" in the Limbu language. There are very few people who understand the rites, which are traditionally handed down in certain families. The Pedangma of the Limbu differs from the others who perform the sacrifice in that he does not tremble; —by this is meant the trembling that comes over them when they are possessed by a spirit. The man who performs the sacrifice plays a cylindrical drum with a hide stretched over each end. It is about 3 yards in length and one foot in diameter. This drum, called Gemunga, is hung in front of the body and is beaten with the bare hands. Several drums are used at wedding ceremonies, while the dancing goes on. Today however only the men dance. In the olden times women danced too ; but today they have forgotten the art. The hour-glass-shaped Shaman drum is unknown to them.

The Limbu also honour the goddess Buribodju, who was created by God and endowed with power by him. (We state the above on the authority of Budiman, a Limbu from Lingse near Pedong, who is one of those entitled to perform the sacrifice.)

The younger brother of the Mandal from Lingse related the following : The Limbu or Subha belong to the Jimdar. Because of this common ancestry the two peoples may have their meals in common. Their language and religion are different. The Limbu worship the goddess Buribodju, or to call her by her Limbu name, Yümasam. The one who performs the sacrifice offers her every year, or every three years, a pig, a buffalo, a goat or a duck. This yearly sacrifice is called "Noagi". It must take place at night in an uncultivated place near the settlement. Everyone may take part in the sacrifice. The victims are beheaded with a knife. The sacrifice is performed at the commencement of the harvest of the rice-crop. The goddess Yümasam lives in heaven. These are some religious ceremonies of this people.

The Limbu have flat faces, Mongolian eye fold and yellow complexions. The Mongoloid characteristics are stronger in their case than in the case of the Lepcha. Anthropologically they correspond with the Rai. (Fig. 4-6)

(*c*) THE MAGAR (MANGAR).

Another tribe is the Magar or Mangar. According to their tradition, they came from Bokim, a land behind Nepal somewhere in Tibet. The history of their settlement is in keeping with this tradition. Larger colonies of the Magar live in Kangpachen in the north-east near the Tibetan frontier. Their language is still preserved there today and this seems to indicate that they had once been powerful and influential. The conflicts between the Tibetans and the Magar are mentioned in the local legends. All this implies that at one time the Magar settled mainly in the north-east.

Today, they live in districts west of Kathmandu even as far as the rivers Bheri and Karnali. They are in possession of strips of land which are more suitable for cultivation right up to the high mountains. The Magar are outstanding as farmers and are known as the Pakali Magar. They also collect berries, roots, herbs, and everything edible from the woods. They comprise several sub-tribes: the Thapa, Pitakote, Gjapsake, Burbadsam, Drundzangi, Lungeli, etc. Others mentioned six sub-tribes: Thapa, Rana, Ale, Pun, Burathoki, Gharti. Only the first three are pure Magar. The Pun and the Gharti speak different languages. They live also in the higher isolated valleys. Their long hair gives them an unkempt appearance and they are of a coarser build.

This second class of Magars is called the Kaniwale Magar. They work as smiths, miners, besides quarrying out ores and minerals. They are looked upon as the lowest class. The Gharti are shepherds.

Two Magar dialects are chiefly to be distinguished. As the Magars lived near the Indian plains, and were more exposed to Hindu influence they absorbed a great deal of Hinduism into their religion, customs and habits and departed from many of their own. It is extremely likely that the old traditions may have survived among a few isolated tribes high up in the mountains, but as yet it has not been possible for us to get into contact with them.

Racially, Mongoloid features are less in evidence among the Magars. The open eye and well-formed nose are of frequent occurrence. Their language falls into the Tibeto-Burman group. (Fig. 7)

(*d*) THE GURUNG.

The Gurung have a tradition according to which they claim to have come from Po hiung, a land which lies beyond Nepal somewhere in Tibet. There once lived a Gurung who had two wives, the chief of whom had four sons, Ghale, Ghotani, Lama, and Lamchane. These four brothers with their tribes comprised the ruling class and they were the ancestors of the Char-jat Gurung class. By his second wife the Gurung had twelve sons, while some aver that he had sixteen sons. They with their descendants were called the Solah-jat Gurung, and were slaves of the superior class. Intermarriage between these two classes was forbidden.

The youngest of the twelve brothers approached the king of Nepal with a letter complaining about the behaviour of his step brothers and their oppressive methods. On hearing this complaint the king invited the four brothers to his court and enquired of them as to whether the complaint was just and whether intermarriages were really forbidden. They admitted the truth of the complaint, whereupon the king commanded that intermarriage among all should be permitted. Now if a girl of the Char-jat Gurung marries a boy of the Solah-jat Gurung, the latter must pay a sum varying from Rs. 4/- to

Rs. 20/-, and vice-versa when a girl of the Solah-jat Gurung marries a boy of the other tribe, the latter must pay Rs. 12/- to Rs. 20/-.

Under Hindu influence this legend was modified to run as follows: The king of Nepal was desirous of having as his wife the daughter of Ghale, the Gurung ruler. Among his daughter's attendants Ghale had a girl of outstanding beauty. Under pretence of being his daughter he sent this girl to the king. This ruse, however, was detected. The angry king demanded the real daughter whom Ghale could no longer refuse. They were married and she bore the king the sons Ghotani, Lama and Lamchane. Their descendants had the same standing as Ghale and his successors and constituted the ruling class. The descendants of the girl who had been sent previously to the king were the Solah-jat Gurung and were the slaves of the ruling class. This indicates the attempt made by the Gurung to prove that they came from a higher Hindu caste. The racial differences among them certainly came from mixing with other peoples. These mixed peoples formed a tribe of their own.

As the Gurung increased in numbers and were faced with food shortage, they emigrated. Among the emigrants was Gabring of the Solah-jat line. He was a priest and had to perform the ceremonies at birth, marriages and funerals. However, he did not go to Char-jat Gurung families. These, therefore, let a Lama come from the Tsin Land (China). Because the Lama was "hired" in this way, they called him the Puön dchu Lama. He was supposed to instruct a few scholars and then return to his own country. The presence of a foreign Lama gave rise to quarrels between the two Gurung classes—the Solah-jat Gurung having grown envious of the fact that the others now had a Lama of their own. To put an end to the quarrel both the Lamas decided on the following plan: the first one to reach the peak of the Himalayas at sunset would be the leader. When the night was still young, Gabring awoke and rode to the mountains on his Shaman drum. The Puōn dchu magician slept the whole night through, got ready just before sunrise and with the aid of his magic powers reached the mountain top immediately. As he arrived there he saw Gabring riding on his drum. Thereupon Puön dchu destroyed the drum of his rival by demolishing the drum stick and the skin from one side of the drum. Gabring fell to earth. Puön dchu then burnt the magic books of his rival. But Gabring instantly swallowed the ashes of the books. And so it is that these Lamas only know the prayers by heart, and do not know how to read or write. Their drums have the skin stretched across one side only, and they do not use a drumstick. The Lamas from Tsin on the other hand can read and write and they have the complete drum. Competitions among magicians of different sects and riding on magic drums are familiar Tibetan themes.

The Hindu version of the story runs as follows : Ghale, the Char-jat Gurung Lama, used to wear a cord like the Brahmins. He was journeying once in the company of his slave who was a Gabring of the Solah-jat Gurung. After journeying for a long while they were both tired and lay down to sleep. Vishnu appeared to the Gabring during his sleep and said, "Pour alcohol into your master's mouth and steal his holy cord." Gabring did as he had been bidden to do. When Ghale woke up he noticed the fumes of alcohol on his lips and that his holy cord had disappeared. "I have been robbed of my caste. I am ruined," he moaned, and fled into the wilderness to make atonement. These two stories show that there were two opposing elements among the Gurung. Like the Lamaist magicians, the Ghale Lama can also ward off hail, prevent storms, exorcise those possessed by demons, and perform many other feats of magic. In former times they offered a bull in sacrifice at funerals. This could certainly not be the water-buffalo. Owing to Hindu influence the slaughter of bulls no longer takes place ; an image of a bull with horns of gold, silver or wood is put up instead.[16]

The Gurung mainly settled down on the slopes of the mountains near the snow line, on a basis parallel to the Mangar. Thus they live in more isolated districts and have preserved their individuality better than the Mangar. Cattle breeding plays an important part in their lives. On the average, the Gurung have Mongoloid features. Now and then some of them are with open eyes without the Mongolian fold, with

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16. This is mentioned by an old Gurung from Maria-Basti near Pedong.

well formed noses and brownish complexions. This type strongly resembles the Tibetan nomads. Their language also belongs to the Tibeto-Burman group.

(*e*) THE THARU.

The Tharu are the antithesis of the Gurung. They live south of the Mangar in the low hills and the Terai in the malaria-infested jungles at the foot of the mountains. From a legend of their descent they try to claim relationships with the Indians. They say that when the Rajputs were threathened by the Moslems, the Rajput women fled into the jungles. After the destruction of the Rajput army, the women, robbed of their husbands, married servants. That is why the Tharu women are held in such high esteem. There are other legends concerning their descent which are contradictory to one another. The confused traditions pertaining to their descent show that the Tharu are a mixed people. The biggest colony is in the Naini valley, where the Bhoksa, probably an old section of the Tharu, also settled. They are also found in Bihar and Orissa. These Tharu, it is true, deny that they came from Nepal ; and this, in all probability, is because Nepal is less important than India.

The Tharu are excellent farmers, but they are also good fishermen and brave hunters. Even the women take part in fishing and hunting. The women hold a dominant position in domestic life. They are a very diligent and hardworking people.

They are at home in their malaria-infested jungles and for the most part have become immune to malaria. Beyond the natural boundaries of their land, they are feared by the neighbouring peoples because of their magical prowess. The Tharu have thus preserved their old religion intact, and their arts of magic are more highly developed than among other Himalayan tribes.

The Tharu have well-formed Mongoloid features ; slit eyes, brown or brownish yellow complexions in general, moderate sized noses, and a little hair on the body. In physical appearance the Tharu resemble the Mangar and other Nepalese, but not the Indians. There is a non-Mongoloid element to be found among them, which comes from their mixing with the Khasa, who are their neighbours in the north and northeast. The form of their head is dolichocephalic. The Tharu may be classed with the Mongoloids. The blood-group research carried out among them by Majumdar bears this out.[17]

Their near relations, the Bhoksa, belong to the same race. The main point of difference between them and the Tharu is that they were much more strongly influenced by Hinduism and gave up their primitive religion. The Tharu are also said to be the distant relations of the Newar.

The Tharu bear evidence to the fact that the Mongoloid elements descended to the Indian plains. There they may also have absorbed Austroasiatic and Dravidic admixtures. We also found Mongoloid strains among the Dom in the neighbourhood of Patna. Among these people the inner angle of the eye is covered by the upper eyelid and forms the Mongolian fold. The upper lid droops and the whole eye is slit-shaped. The cheek bones are strong ; the face and the nose are broad. The "Nomadic Dom" especially are widely scattered and thus have acquired elements of different races. The same is also true of the mountain Dom in the forests of the Himalayas.

(*f*) THE NEWAR.

The Newar live in the district of Khatmandu, in the centre of Nepal. The following story is their version of their origin : In the centre of Nepal there lay a great lake encompassed by high mountains. Every day a goddess came to bathe in the lake. Her name was not known but she wrote her name on the leaf of a tree. The god, Bim-sin, came there one day and saw the virgin goddess bathing. He also found the leaf with her name on it, and called out to her to come to him. She refused to do so and demanded the leaf back. "I will return the leaf to you," said the god Bim-sin, "if you come and look at me." She did so and thus became pregnant. The god then returned to her the leaf with her name on it.

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[17] The Fortunes of the Primitive Tribes, Lucknow, 1944.

Ten months later she bore a son and named him Pirtinaran. The boy grew up and one day asked his mother, "Who is my father?" She replied, "He is the god Bim-sin." The mother then asked the god what he intended to do for her son. The god replied, "I shall give him this land." So saying, he opened a gorge in the mountains and let the lake run out. He gave the land thus freed to his son so that he could rule there. This boy was the first Newar.

According to this tradition the Newar were the first inhabitants of the Khatmandu valley. There are other legends in support of this interpretation. They relate further that the Newar came into this valley from the east of Mahachina, which is supposed to be China. Other traditions hold that the Nayer came to Nepal as soldiers under Nanda-Deva from South India. These diverse traditions indicate the racial intermixture of the Newar which includes many components. The same differences are evident in the religious structure. The religious groups of the Newar come under the following classification : (1) *The Shivmargi*, who are sub-divided on a basis akin to the Hindus (*a*) the Brahmin, (*b*) the Kshatriya, (*c*) the Vaisya who include the Joshi (astrologers), Achar (priests of local deities), the Kou (smiths), Nou (barbers), Tati (spinners), Bhati (undertakers), Katha (wound-dressers). The latter were formerly Buddhists and have only recently been admitted into the third caste of the Newar.

(2) *Buddhamargi*, who are the followers of Buddha and fall into the following classifications : (*a*) Bandya or Banra, the descendants of married monks, (*b*) the Uda, dealers and merchants, (*c*) the lower castes of the peasants and artisans. In addition to these are the untouchables, the butchers, musicians, tailors, woodcutters, charcoal burners, sweepers, fishermen and those employed in the leather industry. This classification of the Newar gives us an insight into the historical development of Nepal and the various influences of Buddhism and Hinduism. It is true indeed, that the Newar have lost some of their characteristics through these influences. But they were the most cultured people of Nepal prior to the invasion of the Indian Aryans. Their language could also be written. The Newar have exercised a great influence on the cultural structure of Nepal. They were very able farmers.

In very early times they had not learnt the use of the plough and tilled the soil with their hoes, Kodali. They did not employ the services of oxen until they began to use the plough in preference to their hoes. They were also capable at handicrafts and were successful merchants.

Anthropologically the Newar stand out strongly. As a general rule they have wide, open eyes without the Mongolian fold. The nose is well formed, but wider than the characteristic Aryan nose. The complexion is yellowish. Some authors are of the opinion that the complete absence of, or the very slight evidence of Mongoloid elements in the Newar, is due to their strong intermixture with the Indians. It must be admitted that the cultural influence of the Indians over the Newar is stronger than their racial influence over them. There is greater evidence in this case of the old non-Mongoloid substratum which is prior even to the Aryan. The same is true in the case of other people. The language of the Newar falls within the Tibeto-Burman group. (Fig. 8-10)

(*g*) THE SUNWAR.

The Sunwar have settled in the north-east, from the district of the Rai to that of the Newar. Kisi and Busi, two places rather centrally situated, are said to be the most important settlements. Djoi and Kimti were near the Tibetan frontier. Tradition relates that the Sunwar came to Nepal from the very distant land of Churdji bangchi after the Newar but before the Brahmins. The three brothers, Jetha, Maila and Kancha, are said to be their forbears. The descendants of the eldest formed ten tribes, while those of the two younger brothers formed one tribe each. These twelve tribes were called the "bara-tharai" and they live in the mountains north of the valley. They constitute the highest caste. In addition to these there were ten Sunwar tribes, the "das-tharai" who were born of mixed marriages of the Sunwar with other peoples. They form a socially lower strata. Thus we are able to understand other traditions which relate that the Sunwar came from Kashmir, or the Ganges, or other districts.

The Sunwar are small and of slender build. They are somewhat smaller in size than the average Nepalese. The cheek bones are fairly prominent and the eye and nose are typically Mongoloid. Their language belongs to the Tibeto-Burman group.

The Sunwar claim that they were originally hunters. Their main occupation was dress and basket making. They lived in symbiosis with the Gurung and the Mangar.

(*h*) THE DHAMANG.

The Dhamang are also called Murmi or Lama. According to their tradition, they came from a place which was about a fifteen days' journey inside Tibet. This homeland of theirs is called Chivali. Another report says that they came from Mudimirge in Gipod.

There are many tribes among the Dhamang: Lo, Gole, Lingdän, Djabag, Bakrin, Bomdzän, Hingkar, Ting, Geching, Jondzän, Mugdän, Togor, Blön, Glän, Weiba, Galdän, Didung, Goangdän, Hiangdän, Hiangba, Dong, Dumdzän, Niagi, Nisu, Djimba, Rumba, Böl, Lamagor, Ngarba. All these tribes fall into two categories—the bara, the twelve, and the atharra, the eighteen Dhamang tribes.

The Dhamang trace their descent to the three brothers—Tshenggu, Lung and Tulgu. Their mother was a cow who died after the birth of the three sons. Her parting words to her children were, "Eat my flesh, and you will be like God." The brothers did as they were told and divided her body among themselves. The youngest brother took the entrails and went to the river to have them washed. The two elder brothers divided the flesh into three parts, cooked it and each of them buried his share. When the youngest brother returned they deliberately deceived him saying, "We have already eaten our share of meat. You must now eat yours." The youngest brother complied with their request, but no sooner had he done so then they heaped insult on him and said, "You have eaten the flesh of the cow, and hence you are guilty of the murder of our mother." They then uncovered their hidden shares and tried to drive him away. This act roused the fury of the youngest brother who took up the entrails he had with him and struck his brothers with them. When the eldest was struck he turned into a Brahmin ; the second into a Thakur. The youngest became an Avatta, a Lama, and the father of the Dhamang. Their mother, the cow, is known by the name of Kun-tu-zang-mu. It is apparent that the Tibetan Kun-tu-bzang appears in this name. Kun-tu-bzang-po is the principal god of the Bon po. The first heavenly Bodhisattva and the Adibuddha are also called by this name. Kun-tu-bzang-mo was the wife of Shakta. In the Dhamang story she appears in the form of a cow. We know of other Tibetan myths in which god appears in the form of a bull.

Hindu influence has caused the following changes in the myth of their descent. Once there lived three brothers Brahma, Vishnu and Mahashur. One day they went out hunting for game. After spending many hours without sighting any game, they were suddenly confronted with a wild bull, the gauri-gai. Vishnu shot the animal. The three brothers then commenced carving up the meat with a view of eating it. Mahashur took the entrails to be washed in the river. In the meantime the other two brothers cooked the meat and divided it into three parts. Only then did they realise that it was the flesh of a cow and that they could not eat it. The two brothers concealed their portions of the flesh. When the third brother returned they deceitfully said to him, "We have eaten our share of the meat. Now you must eat yours." After he had done so they brought out their hidden portions, and rebuked him severely for having eaten the flesh of a cow. This vicious behaviour on the part of the two brothers so infuriated the youngest that he lashed out angrily at his brothers with the entrails he had in his hand until they hung in strips about their shoulders. These strips were the prototype of the holy cord. Mahashura, thus degraded, became the ancestor of the Dhamang who eat the flesh of the cow.

Similar legends are current among several Indian tribes : hunters shot a bullock which they mistook for a deer. As a punishment they must eat its flesh and lose their caste.[18] And so it was, as we see, but a step from the original Dhamang myth to the Hindu version of the same.

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[18] Compare Stephen Fuchs, The Children of Hari, Vienna 1950, p. 251 f.

The Dhamang call their principal god Bim-sin. We have already come across a Newar god bearing the same name. This principal god had in addition five brothers who took over duties from him. The god who undertook the creation of the world is called Naua-daia. Bim-sin killed all the devils in the world. Stones are supposed to be the bones of the devils. The devils are called Dai-te. In the beginning all men were equal and there were no class distinctions. These distinctions were arranged later by a deity.[19]

The Dhamang are also called Dhamang-Bhodja, because they are supposed to originate from a mixture of Tibetans with Nepalese. This is another indication of the mixture that exists among these people. Their language points to the existence of close connections with Tibet. Their bodily structure shows Mongoloid features. They are scattered over the whole of East Nepal, but they are also numerous in the mountains which surround the Nepalese valley, particularly in the northern mountains. (Fig. 11)

(*i*) THE SHARPA.

The Sharpa bear the strongest evidences to their Tibetan origin. The name Sharpa means "Eastern people" in the Tibetan language. The Sharpas in Nepal are said to be the people who have come there from the east of Tibet. They lived originally in the frontier districts in the Tsing-hai-Se-chwan provinces of China.[20] This is in Eastern Tibet where they are called Shar-pa, Eastern people.

They are divided into ten tribes ; Salaka, Pinasa, Lama, Gotarma, Dachchindo, Dagdoch, Khambadje, Djawa, Gardza.[21]

The Lamas of this tribe belong to the Ning-ma and bKa-gyud-pa sects. They live high up in the north-east of Nepal and are the nearest inhabitants to Mount Everest. The porters for the Everest expeditions are selected from these

[19] On the authority of a Dhamang from Kaffar Basti.

[20] In the Tibetan language Amdo, Khams.

[21] Matampa from Lingse who gave us these names could not remember the name of the tenth tribe.

people, because they are outstanding as mountain climbers and are remarkable for their endurance. The best mountaineer among them is Tensing, the Everest hero.

The race as a whole has totally Tibetan features. There are nomadic types among them with open eyes, strongly formed noses, and bronze-tinted skins. Others among them have more strongly marked Mongoloid features with slit eyes and prominent cheek bones. (Fig. 12)

(*j*) SOME MINOR TRIBES.

The Thakale live in the northern sector of Central Nepal in the Muktinath district. In appearance they resemble the Gurung. Their language also bears an affinity to Tibetan, and therefore they are Mongoloids.

The Rohani, the Binge and the Kolme also live in the neighbourhood and they resemble the Thakale in appearance.

Further south-east, the Thami live along the banks of the rivers Sunkosi and Tamburkosi, and they number a few thousands. They claim relationships with the Kiranti, who however, do not admit this relationship on the grounds of the strong intermixture evident among the Thami. Their features, which are similar to the Kiranti, are Mongoloid.

The nomadic Kusunda tribes and, a little further west, the Chepang live in Central Nepal. They dwell in caves and under the trees and it is only in very recent times that they have learnt the techniques of house-building. They are small in stature and have a dark coloured skin. These factors have led some to believe that they are related to the Indian Oroan and Kol, and that they are the remains of an Austroasiatic people.

The land lying between the rivers Kauriala and Kali, to the west of Nepal, has a different set of inhabitants. The Hindu elements become more strongly marked as one advances further to the west. The Mongoloid characteristics disappear entirely, in spite of the fact that the Nepalese from East and Central Nepal are scattered all over the land. These inhabitants have dark skins, longish faces, straight noses and open eyes. They bear a close resemblance to the Kumaoni and speak the same language. They are, therefore, Indo-Aryans. This is no longer a sphere of strong Mongoloid influence.

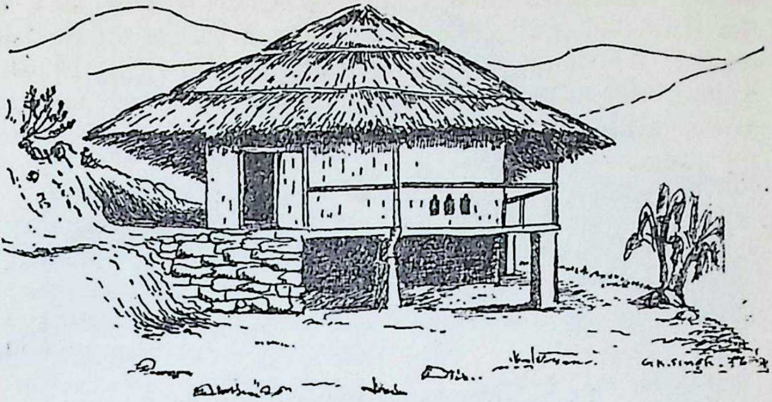
Conditions are different in the Terai. We have already mentioned the Tharu. Other inhabitants of the jungles at the foot of the mountains are the Meche, Dhimal and the Koch or Rajbansi. We have already made the acquaintance of the ancestor of the Meche, who, as we said, was the youngest brother of Lapche and Rai. The Meche live in the woods between the rivers Brahmaputra and the Kosi. As is the case with the whole Terai region, their district is also severely infected with malaria, and is therefore avoided by other people. This odd circumstance serves them as a natural protection and enables them the better to preserve their own individuality. Their language is still preserved. They are wont to burn out large tracts of forest and build little farms which they cultivate by the most primitive forms of agriculture, akin to the methods prevalent in the Southern Himalayas. A government order controls this activity for the preservation of forests. The Meche, like all other jungle inhabitants, are enthusiastic hunters. They have Mongoloid features but we shall deal with this at greater length later on.

The facts mentioned above are also true of the Dhimal who have likewise preserved their language.

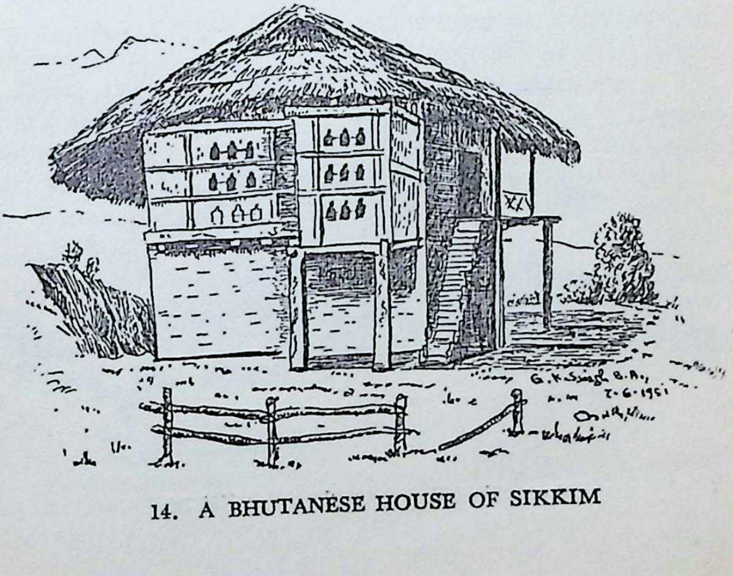
The Koch live in the jungle of Siliguri right up to Jalpaiguri and have spread even to Koch Behar and Goalpara in Assam. They have dark complexions and for this reason are reckoned by some to be an old Indian stratum (Austro-asiatic) with traces of Mongoloid influences. They have through strong Hindu influence lost their original language. The Koch link us with Assam and we shall deal with them at a later stage.

The Indo-Aryan element passed on by the Gurkha conquerors is noticeable throughout the whole country. The castes are mostly Brahmin, Kshatriya, the Thakuri, Kami (smiths), Damai (tailors), Sarki (shoemakers), Khawash or Bhujel (slaves). The impress of Hinduism has been due rather to cultural than to racial penetration. The *lingua franca* of the country is now Khaskura, the language of the

Khas. This is an Indo-Aryan dialect and is more akin to the Kumaoni in the west than to the Aryan of the Indian plains. Khaskura, also called Parbatiya, Gorkhali, Nepali, is that Indian-Aryan dialect which has penetrated farthest to the east in the Southern Himalayan mountains and is also the language of commerce in Indian Sikkim.



13. A LEPCHA HOUSE OF SIKKIM


G.K.Singh B.A.,
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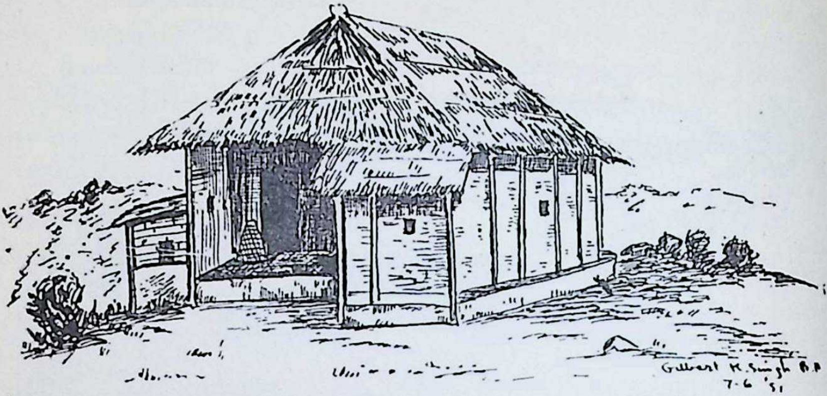
14. A BHUTANESE HOUSE OF SIKKIM


Gilbert K. Singh B.A.
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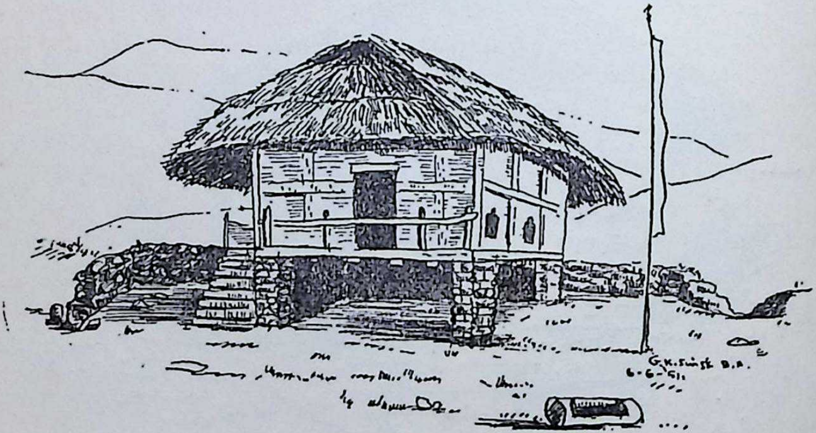
15. A NEPALESE HOUSE OF SIKKIM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16. A TIBETAN HOUSE OF SIKKIM

CHAPTER III

THE MOUNTAIN TRIBES OF SIKKIM

A. The Lepchas

The Lapches or Lepchas are supposed to be the original inhabitants of Sikkim. They call themselves Rong; the Tibetans call them Mon, and the Bhutanese, Meri. The Mongoloid problem can best be studied through the Lepchas of the Southern Himalayas and hence they are dealt with more thoroughly.

According to one opinion the Lepchas are supposed to have come not from Tibet, but from the east of the mountains from Assam and Upper Burma.[22] Their own tradition, however, states that their original home was in the neighbourhood of the great mountain, Kang-chen-mdzod-lnga[23] the second highest mountain in the world. That is the Tibetan name and means the "Great Glacier of the Five Store-rooms." The Lepcha name for the mountain is, "King-tzum-song-bu." King-tzum means "Highest part of the forehead," song-bu means "the highest." Literally it means, "the highest over our head." This Lepcha name is reproduced phonetically by the Tibetans as "Kang-chen-mdzod-lnga," which has quite a different meaning. This snow-covered mountain has an important part to play as the habitat of the spirits. King-tzum-rum is the god of happiness; Rum-king-tzum is the god of fate.[24] From it the Lepchas derive the name Rong, by which they are known. Rong means "peak" or "mountain peak" and has the same significance as the word Arong.

Another tradition has it that the place of their origin is on the holy mountain Kailasa (Ti se) way up in Tibet. On the mountain is the stone Ne-long which bears the footprints of Buddha and of animals. The god, Pum-rum, protector of the hunters, lives there. Pum-rum is also another name for the Supreme God of the Lepchas as we shall soon see. The oldest homeland bears the name Damsang. We have here an inkling of the Tibetan Lama influence, which, as in Hindu tradition, links the original homeland with the holy district. Since the King-tzum-song-bu is very closely linked with the myths of the Lepchas we shall go more deeply into a study of it.

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[22] J. C. White, Sikkim and Bhutan, London, 1909, p. 7.

[23] Kangchenjunga, Fig. 17 & 18.

[24] G. B. Mainwaring and A. Grünwedel, Dictionary of the Lepcha Language, Berlin 1898, 17a, 356 b.

(*a*) MYTHS OF THE CREATION OF THE WORLD

The myths of the creation are of special importance. "Create" in the Lepcha language is called "ayit" or "it" in its abbreviated form. Another word for create is "de-bo." "It-rum" or "de-rum" means "god of creation" ; "Rum" by itself means "god." "Pum-thing-rum" signifies the same. "Pum bo" means "Principal," "Chief," "God." The name "It-bo" or "It-bo-mu" is again taken from the creative action of god. Other names are, "Ta-she-thing," "Sa-dzug-rum." The latter are connected with the sun god and are used by some as the emblem of the Supreme God.

The following is the myth about creation : In ancient times Rum created a great expanse of water. Nothing else existed at the time. Then he created on the bed of the water the fish "ngo." Next he formed three pairs of deities who lay down crosswise on the fish. The first of the pairs were Rug-lu̅ and Rug-lom, and after them were Mon-li and Röng-gul, Pö-ril and Pö-dong. These are three pairs of male and female deities. Over these were fashioned Söm-li and Söm-nag-mön-mu, a couple who as man and wife are supposed to belong to the human race. They all carried the earth which rested on them in the form of a dish. The slightest movement of the fish resulted in earthquakes. Rum then created the great mountains of the earth, the chief of which is King-tzum-song-bu ; then four more peaks, Pön-däm, Pön-tzum-dju, Pön-tzum-tang-rem-dju, Don-dong-tang-nyik-dju. Another story records that two chief mountains were created, *viz.*, the Kang-chen and the Kang-lo. Another Mun makes a contrary statement, "The snow-capped mountain Kang-chen-rum was created first and as a companion to it, Nyo-ling-rum, the goddess of the great ocean was created." In some versions of this story the goddess is named Lyang-serdong-bong, who is a mountain goddess in the plain. There exist many other variations about the sequence of creation.

Then Rum made the two rivers, Rong-nyo and Rong-nyit, to flow down from the mountains. They are male and female. In the middle of the female Rong-nyo, he created the rock, Lyang-nyit-long-bong, similar to the navel in the human body. A high mountain, regarded as the navel of the world is a well-known conception in Asia. The goddess, Lyang-nyit-long-bong, is supposed to live on this rock and childless parents pray to her to be blessed with children. The idea of male gods having their abode on the snow-capped mountains and the goddesses in the lakes, is fairly common among the Lepcha. These gods and goddesses are often linked with the first parents in Lepcha mythology.[25]

The sacrificial prayers of the Mun and the Bong thing are often preceded by a legend of creation. The text which we shall later render in detail begins thus :

"Fa dong dju fa dong dö gom shi gom yu rum !
Fa dong dju and Fa dong dö (personal male and female deities) and Gom shi, Gom yu rum (hunting gods).
Lyang it ung it lyang sog döm it
The earth was created, the water was created and the whole world was created.
Chi log so log it
Millet beer and husked rice were created
Lyang tög bu ta she it ga.
Lyang wife, and Tög bu ta she's son (man) were created"[26]

Another part reads as follows :

"Ayan na ba lyang ung ma it ma den na ba.
In very ancient times when land and water were not yet created."

An old report has the words :

"Ta she nun rum ayit	Ta she created the good spirits
Num shim nyo ayit	He created man.
Lyang ayit	He created the earth.
Ung ayit	He created water
Gun pang ayit	He created all things."[27]

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[25] Report of Gu-gu Bong thing at Git biyong.
[26] Text of Gu-gu Bong thing.
[27] Dictionary of the Lepcha language, op. cit., p. 121 b.

Another myth of creation reads as follows : "In the beginning, the world was all water, and there were no living creatures. Then the Creator made an earthenware pot that floated on the water, and this was land that floated on the sea. Like a human body that is made of flesh and bones the earth is made of rock and soil.

In the lowlands the Creator planted the bamboo, the sisin-nambong. After that, he made the Lang-chuk Lang-dal, that are now known as the Himalaya mountains, and he created the pa-song pumun bamboo which grows at the foot of these hills. And then he created Pudung-thing and Nazong-gnyu who were the first male and female, and it is from these two that human beings were spread over the entire world. Then there was neither birth nor death ; but this was created later to suit the world.

The seeds of all the crops were given by Pudung-thing and Nazong-gnyu to all their children who cultivated the land and lived on the produce."[28] If the elements are connected with creation it is surely due to Tibetan and Hindu influence. In the lowest region is the wind, and above it are fire, water and earth.[29] However, only two elements are mentioned : Ti-gung-thik, the first man who is supposed to be identical with fire, and Ni-gung-ngal, the first woman, who is identical with water.[30]

Apart from the earth the heavens were also decked out with the sun, moon, stars and clouds created by Rum.[31] It is also narrated that in the beginning there were two suns in the sky. One of these shone by day and the other by night. As it never grew dark, the earth suffered from incessant heat, and so one of the suns was shot down. Seven or more moons were supposed to have existed.[32] These, too, are mythological themes which the Lepchas have in common with the Indo-Chinese peoples. Myths about creation are very numerous among these tribes.[33]

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[28] C. B. Stocks, Folklore and Customs of the Lepchas of Sikkim, Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, N. S. Vol. XXI, 125/127. N. 4. p. 358.

[29] C. B. Stocks, op. cit., p. 345.

[30] Story as told by a Bong thing from Git biyong.

[31] cfr. op. cit. p. 439.

[32] op. cit. p. 336, Note 1, p. 363 sq.

[33] cfr. G. Gorer, Himalayan Village, An account of the Lepchas of Sikkim, London 1938, p. 223 sq.; cfr. The Song of Creation in Waddell, Among the Himalayas, London, 1900, p. 294 sq.

(*b*) MYTHS OF THE CREATION OF MAN

There are several myths current about the creation of man. Pum-thing created the first human beings. The first man was called Ti-gung-thik and his wife was called Ni-gung-ngal. They lived in Mayal-lyang, which lies on the other side of King-tzum-song-bu. There was then no disease, no suffering, no death. Now all human beings return to this place after their death.

In days of yore it was possible to reach this land from the earth. A hunter once came into the district of Mayal. When night overtook him, he prepared to put up for the night. Then he became aware of lights gleaming a little distance away. He approached the place, contacted the people and asked for shelter. They said to him, "What are you doing over here in Ren-dyong?"[34] He replied, "I hunt animals so I can provide myself with food." "Have you then nothing else to eat? Have you no grain to sustain yourself?" "No, I have none," replied the hunter. So they gave him gherkins, rice and millet and gave him instructions about the cultivation of these seeds after the re-migration of the birds after winter. Later on another hunter travelled to the spot and was stranded. He lit a fire and began to prepare his food. The inhabitants came there and were desirous of looking on at the proceedings. The hunter, however, looked upon them as intruders. He grew furious and struck them with a view of driving them away. They said to him, "In our land no one strikes another. We all live in peace and harmony. Take up your belongings and leave the place as quickly as you can, or our dogs will pounce upon you." The hunter looked around and perceived dogs that resembled bears and tigers. He grew terrified and fled away as fast as he could. Great storms followed in his wake; there were landslides and earthquakes; mountains came crashing down and all the entrances to the land were completely sealed over. Ever since this incident Mayal has remained inaccessible.[35]

Gorer gives the following description of Mayal, "The people of Mayal consists of seven brothers each with their own name and each patron of some sort of grain. These seven brothers are progenitors and ancestors and guardians of the Lepchas. They were created by Itpomu who placed rice and millet and maize in their charge when she made these crops. The people of Mayal live in seven huts; they are immortal; each morning they are infants,—at midday they are grown men, and in the evening they are old. They all have huge goitres and it is from them that people know that big goitres are a sign of prosperity and a large harvest. They wear the traditional Lepcha costume of clothes made of nettle cloth and small basket-work hats. They are between gods and ordinary human beings; they are not gods because they live on earth; but they are not human because they do not die. The land of Mayal is far up the Tulung valley somewhere behind the Kinchenjunga; at some time in the past the road thither was open, but now it has been closed and is as unpassable as the cutting edge of a knife.

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[34] Dwelling place of the ancestors and now pronounced "den-dyong."

[35] Report from Kalimpong.

On the road to Mayal are three guardian spirits called Sog-po, who are brothers; the eldest is called Mayel-Yook-Rum, he is also called Pong-rum when the hunters offer sacrifice to him; his younger brothers, Mi-tik and Tom-tik, are cruel deities who kill and eat men and animals. Tom-tik is like a bear. They are the special guardians of the ibex and the musk deer which come from Mayal, which is the reason why these animals are so difficult to kill. In the country of Mayal crops grow a hundred times as big as here, and it is from this country that the seeds of our present crops originate. These crops are always ripe for harvesting. The migratory birds are called 'Mayel fo', birds of Mayal, and they are sent out by the people of Mayal to the Lepchas to indicate the seasons and the times when various agricultural acts should be performed. When the time comes for the migrating birds to return to Mayal, the parent birds die on the way and only the newly hatched ones survive the arduous journey to Mayal from whence they are sent the next year to act as indicators for the Lepchas. The people of Mayal have no wives living with them but the two oldest of the people Adoo-Yook and Alau-Yook, have in a way, as wives the two sisters Talyeu-Nimu and Sanguo-Nimu, who are the spirits of the earth: these two women lie on their backs on the earth and on their bellies are the cultivable lands. Into this Adoo-Yook and Alau-Yook send rice and millet and maize, just as if it were human seed from a husband and the women are fertilised and fruitful.

In the old days the path to Mayal was opened and sometimes the people of Mayal came to other parts of the world ; and occasionally adventurous hunters found their way into the Mayal country."[36] According to other stories not only the seven brothers but all the ancestors of the Lepchas live in Mayal.

Another Lepcha named Ti-gung-a-thik and Ni-gung-a-ngal as the original ancestor. They lived a happy life and could hunt and roam wherever they liked. Food was available everywhere. Suffering and death were unknown to them. Their land was called Nemayal. Two Lepcha hunters once came to the land. The inhabitants gave them the seeds of gherkins, millets, rice and maize. The hunters however, forgot to ask them when the seeds were to be sown. So they went back again and asked them for the necessary instructions. The people of Mayal said, "When the ducks come back from Tibet, then you must sow the seed." That is February or March. Still they did not know a suitable season for planting the other seeds. They had, therefore, to spend a great deal of time making experiments until they found the most suitable times for sowing the seeds. Among these seeds was rice, which was supposed to be used only for sacrificial purposes. They chewed the husks of rice to see if the seed was ripe, and, finding it sweet, they began to consume it as food for themselves.[37]

The Dän-si Bong-thing from the Song-bur-mu tribe, who lives in Kafär-Basti, gave us the following information : The Lepchas come from Song-bur-tchu on the left of the Kang-chen-mdzod-lnga. In the beginning there existed only the god Rum. No demons existed at the time. The god had no special name. He then created a pair of deities, Agek-rum and Alat-rum, who are the protecting spirits of procreation. Ta-she-thing and Tög-bu-thing then came into being. But the real god of creation is It-bo. He has a wife by name of De-bo. (It-bo and De-bo mean "to produce" and "to create.") It-bo first created a man Ti-gung-thik. He then took a bone from the body of this man and out of it he created a wife for him. The place where the first human beings lived was called Da-lon-par-tan. (This is also the plain in which the tower intended to reach heaven was constructed.) The first couple lived there in perfect happiness and contentment until they became sinful. When they fell into sin the god Rum punished them by sending great floods which continued unabated for fifteen days so that all the people were drowned. Only one Lepcha couple were able to save themselves in a wooden ship.

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[36] op. cit. p. 235 sq.

[37] Report from Sam-sing near Maria-Basti.

Stocks narrates the following myth of creation : "In the beginning there was only sea, and the creator Tashey-takbo-thing made two kinds of fish,—ngo, was the common kind, while the ngo-yang had a serpent form. From the sea we believe that a tortoise supports the world, and on it Tashey-takbo-thing created birds and animals.

Then he tried to make a form of man from butter, but it would not stand up, as whenever he made it, it melted. (Had the butter only remained firm, we should all have been very beautiful). Then he made a human form of earth and mud, and wind came into this resemblance of man and life was created. Then Tashey-takbo-thing made blood out of the water which he put in it and the bones he created from stone. Then he moved away to see whether the creature he had made could answer him and speak, but as he had no nerves or veins he was unable to do so. So Tashey-takbo-thing picked a great many creepers from the jungle and from those which he spread all over the form, it spoke.

Thus was the first male created, but as there was no female he was lonely, and could not reproduce himself. One day as he was catching birds with his snare in the jungle, Tashey-takbo-thing entangled a woman in one for him to catch. So the man caught her and brought her to his home ; but at first they could not marry as there was no go between to help them to talk over the matter. But at last the Rum decided to send the owl (tam-bum) down the country of creation, It-lyang."[38] This myth is interesting because it relates, in the first place, the two efforts made by God to create man, and secondly because it relates how God brought the woman into the life of the man, by placing her in some mysterious way in the snare set by man to catch birds.

According to another myth the genealogy of mankind is even more complicated. Among the various creatures that were created as It-mo's children, there is also Takbo-thing, who hitherto had been designated as the god of creation. Ta-she is added to the name with whom we shall become more closely acquainted later on. "The last two to be born were Takbo-thing and Nazong-ngyu, and although these were brother and sister, they became husband and wife and had many children."[39] These children however were evil spirits and demons. They were not nourished by their mother, but were disowned and driven away. They live not on the earth but outside the earth. The reason why monsters were born out of this wedlock was surely due to the forbidden and irregular marriage between brother and sister. Rum then separated them. After the separation a human being was born. The mother loved this child deeply and fed it at her breast. When the other children perceived this they grew very jealous, hated the child intensely and so it died. The grief-stricken mother sent two birds up to Takbo-thing in order to fetch from him the Water of Life and the Water of Death. Tak-bo-thing gave them both the waters and instructed them about the use of the waters. On their return flight the birds decided not to use the directions as they had been given to them but to reverse them. And so it happens that men die and are always born again. Rum stands as a symbol to man. The Mung demons, on the contrary, do not die, and a priest-magician, Bong-thing, was sent to keep them under control. Only then was it possible for man to live on the earth. He is called Tar-bong-mu. As he was catching birds one day he found a fairy, the daughter of the Lha-ma-yin.[40] He forcibly took this beautiful Na-rib-nom as his wife. To avoid the misfortune consequent to an irregular marriage, Rum decided that the marriage ceremonies should be observed. Milletbeer and ferment play an important part in these ceremonies. After the institution of the marriage ceremonies in this manner, the first men could contract a permitted marriage between brother and sister and their children are human beings.

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[38] op. cit. p. 355 sq.
[39] op. cit. p. 346.
[40] Tibetan name for Titans.

The same story of procuring a ferment for Chi is told by Bong-thing Gu-gu in Git-biyong. Also another myth which we have discovered throws light on the relationship between men and demons : Ti-gung-thik and Ni-gung-ngal had a son. The demon, Susu-mung, also had a son. Both of these children were on the point of dying ; and while they were breathing their last, two birds were sent to fetch the Water of Life and the Water of Death as medicine. The birds obtained both, but exchanged the medicines on their return flight. They gave the human child the Water of Death and it died. The child of the demon received the Water of Life and escaped death. Thus it is that demons still continued to plague men. Men made an effort to annihilate the demon, and when it had climbed a high tree one day they pulled the tree down and knocked the demon to pieces. Nevertheless, as the demon had tasted the Water of Immortality, the fragments of his body were transformed into flies, mosquitoes and other dangerous insects which continue to plague mankind.[41]

An old Lepcha, Sam-sing, from Maria-Basti told me this story : All men have descended from common parents. The first parents had three sons. The first was called Lapche and was the father of the Lepcha tribe. The second is the father of the Rai, and the third the father of the Meche. In the course of their wanderings the brothers came across a banana palm. The eldest brother stuck his knife into it with the intention of cutting it down. White water flowed out of the wound. "If that is the case, we shall not stay any longer with you," said the two brothers and they left him and went their way. The two then came across a Gommim leaf. The second brother cut the leaf and the cut turned black. Thereupon the youngest brother said to him, "If

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41. cfr. a similar myth of Stocks, op. cit., p. 354.

that is the case I will no longer stay with you." Henceforth he wandered alone until he came to a plain where he made his abode.[42]

According to another legend, man springs from a pair of deities or from deified ancestors. The above-mentioned Tak-bo-thing and Nazong-ngyu belong to the category of these deified ancestors. The old woman, Han-bu-ni, who is Mun and Andshemu told me this, "Sa-dzug-rum is the god of heaven and the sun. His wife is Gor-song-mu, that is the mother of Gor-song, because she has a son by that name. She also has a daughter. Sa-dzug-rum is like a father and mother of mankind. I offer sacrifices to him three times each year after the rice, corn and millet harvests. The animal most suitable for the sacrifice is the pig. The next best is the bullock or cow, and the goat ranks last. The pig is killed by piercing its heart from under the shoulder-blade. The cattle are killed by a blow with an axe on the back of the neck. The goats have their throats cut.

Another pair of deities are Kang-chen-rum, who lives in Himal, and his wife, Nyo-lig-rum, who lives in the sea. They have two children ; the son, Dju-köb, and the daughter, Bi-köb. But the highest of all these gods is Sa-dzug-rum."

Thus this old Mun and Andshemu regards Sa-dzug-rum as their Supreme God, and believes that he has a wife. She however disagrees about calling Gor-song the first man. She also denies that Dju-köb and Bi-köb were the ancestral parents of the tribe. However she was unable to give us the names of the first men.

Sa-liang, the son and pupil of the famous Bong-thing Ong-di, contradicted her and related the following, "The Supreme God is Sa-dzug-rum. He has no wife, but four assistants. These are the four spirits who bring discord and pain into the world. They have therefore to be appeased by sacrifices performed twice a year. Sa-dzug-rum is not the god of creation. Rather, it is Rum who is the god of creation. He it was who created the first human beings, Ti-gung and Ni-gung. For a while they were serenely happy and were free from anxiety and suffering. Later they sinned, and as a consequence they had to labour in order to procure their livelihood. These first human beings are the parents of the Rong (Lepcha), the Brug-pa (Bhutanese) and the Jimdar (Nepalese). The very first man, the progenitor of the race, is Ti-gung-pum." So far the statement of Sa-liang. And so we have different traditions that tell the story of the first human beings. Often entire genealogies of gods and spirits are quoted.[43] Finally, the immediate ancestors of mankind make their appearance. The presence of evil in the world is sometimes attributed to them, for, being brother and sister, they live as man and wife, without the proper performance of the marriage ceremonies. Other myths offer other solutions for the problem of evil in the world.

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[42] cfr. a similar myth quoted above p. 7.

(*c*) MYTHS OF THE DELUGE

"In the beginning all men were good. Gradually they grew perverse. This annoyed Rum to such an extent that he sent a great deluge to destroy them all. Only one high mountain peak remained above the water. This was originally called Döng-grung, a ladder which links earth with heaven. The mountain is now called Dän-dong. In order to appease god and make the flood abate, the people sacrificed chi, millet beer, through the bird 'ko-hon,' (partridge). As the bird sprayed the chi in sacrifice to heaven some of it fell on its breast. This fact is supposed to explain why even today, the bird's breast is bitter to the taste. The sacrifice was pleasing to god and the flood abated."

We have still another version of this tradition, "Rong-nyo, the female river, and Rong-nyit, the male, were deliberating with each other as to how they could meet and unite on the plain at the outskirts of the jungle. In the Lepcha language this place is called Pa-sog. Rong-nyo chose as her guide through the mountains a snake which glided straight to their destination. Rong-nyit chose the partridge as his guide. The bird flew hither and thither and took a confusing route across the mountain, thus causing Rong-nyit to arrive late at the rendezvous. He was very angry when he discovered that Rong-nyo had already arrived. Furiously he shouted, 'I am going back!' As he flowed backward the waters rose higher and higher and soon covered the mountains. All mankind was drowned. Only one couple were able to save themselves on the high peak, Dän-dong. When this happened Rong-nyo said to the priest, 'Offer a sacrifice to Rong-nyit. Appease him so that he may turn back and the floods subside.' The priest did as he was told, and when the sacrifice had been offered the floods abated. Then Rong-nyo said, 'I am a woman. I shall, therefore, be obedient and live at a lower level than man, who shall henceforth flow over me.' And so when the two rivers did eventually meet, Rong-nyit streamed over Rong-nyo, who flows beneath it."[44]

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[43] cfr. Stocks, op. cit. 345 sq.

This myth makes it abundantly clear that the quarrel between the man and the woman was the real cause of the flood. Instead of the bird acting as the intermediary, the priest performs the conciliatory sacrifice. Another version of this myth identifies the partridge with the woman, "In the beginning Fooroong and Nazong-nyo lived, our first grandfather and mother, the ancestors on the earth. The flood came on and nearly every human creature perished, only two who ran to the summit of Mount Tendong-lho were saved. Now Takbo-thing was the father of Tashey-thing, who had married the partridge (ko-hon-fo) and she put some chi in a large leaf (tung-fyum-nyom) which she offered to her father-in-law saying that if he only would, he could stop the flood. And Takbo-thing looking down from the country of the Rum, saw that the world was flooded, and that his daughter-in-law was praying to him, and offering him 'chi.' He took up his walking stick (pa tung) and struck the world so that the water sank in. But the partridge split some of the 'chi' on her breast. (The mark can be seen to this day, and because of this the partridge is called tung-fyum). So the world became dry once more, and the trees and the bushes commenced to grow once again and the world was re-peopled."[45] In this myth the relationship between Tashey-thing and Takbo-thing is again altered. This is another instance of the manifold variations prevalent among Lepcha legends.

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44. Kalimpong tradition.
45. Stocks, op. cit. p. 359 ; cfr. the genealogy of God and his family p. [illegible]

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In another legend the serpent king is connected with the flood: "....And then he created Pudung-thing and Nazong-gnyu who were the first male and female and it is from these two that the human beings have spread over the entire world..... When these two were made, birth so multiplied that there was not enough room in the world. Then Parli-bu, who was the serpent-king, dammed the rivers by lying in them, and they overflowed and rose to a great height and reached the sky. Everyone fled to the top of Kong-chen-chu, the highest peak in the Himalayas, but only two people were saved. The place where they stood is called Mayak-kyong to this day. While the flood was raging, Tashey-thing sent a hero down into the world named Yongli-pono, to kill the serpent who was blocking the rivers. The hero cut the serpent to pieces thus making the waters run down into the plains and we, the Rong folk, still believe that the Blue Mountains (that can be seen from the valley of Rangpo-chu) are the remains of the cut body of the serpent. When the world was dry once again, Tashey-thing sent down two rivers from the Himalaya mountains guided by another serpent called king Paril-patong and a quail, the Ko-hun-fo, and these were Rung-nyo (Tista) and Rung-nyit.

He also sent Pudung-thing and Nazong-gnyu down into the world from the height of Mayal-kyong, giving them the name Tikung-tek and Nikong-gnal. These are the first 'grandfather' and 'grandmother' of the Rong folk. As they had no king, Tashey-thing sent down Gyabo-chaya-dor-tulku from Mayal-kyong and he is the 'grandfather' (ancestor) of the present Maharaja."[46] This legend links the first parents with the flood and the re-peopling of the earth. The name of the first king who is sent by the High God is quite Tibetan and points to Tibetan motifs, according to which, the first king came from heaven.

Mainwaring, the great collector of cultural treasures of the Lepchas, cites the following myth, "It may be noted that the Lepchas have legends in common with divers other primitive races,....regarding the flood and the tower of Babel. The legends were without doubt, brought with them from beyond the snows, but they have connected the incidents with their present place of residence. There is a hill visible from Darjeeling, which, as the tale hath it, when all the country was under water, arose and supported a ship containing a few persons, all other people being drowned. The hill rose up like a horn, (hence the name a-róng, a horn,) and afterwards subsided to its present form. It is known to the Europeans as the Camel's back. On the top cf the lofty Sung-lilho, it is said, a foolish class of Lepchas—(the na-óng) now extinct,—endeavoured to raise a building high enough to reach the heavens. Rock and blocks of stone, as the ruins, are shown on the place."[47] We ourselves heard this saga of the tower and its ruins, in Darjeeling. In Git-biyong, we heard the following version of this saga, "The Lepchas filled a great many pitchers with earth, and piled them higher and higher over each other in an effort to reach the heavens. The man on the top reached so high that with the aid of a long hook he fancied he could link earth with heaven. Whereupon he shouted to the people beneath him, 'Quick! Pass a hook on to me.' It must be noted that in the Lepcha language the word for 'hook' and for 'cut off' have an identical pronunciation. The people yelled, 'Why cut off?' From above sounded the urgent answer, 'Quick, the hook.' They understood it to be, 'Quick, cut off!' So they cut off the rope and their tower came crumbling to the ground."

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[46] op. cit. 358 sq.

Here is another version of the story, "When (after the flood) the world was full of people once more, a tribe called the Na-ong, or 'Ignorant persons' prepared to ascend to the Rum country, and they began to build a tower of earthen pots. They piled them so high that the Rum country was only one pole away. The creator thought they were becoming too eager and too zealous, and that it was not good for them.

So he thought he would create confusion, and make them all speak in different tongues, so that they would misunderstand one another. The man at the top shouted, 'Kok vim yang tale' (hand up the pole with the hook,) while the men at the bottom heard the words, 'Chek tala' (cut it down). They wondering greatly shouted up to ask the man at the top whether he really meant it. This time they heard the words 'ak, ak' (yes, yes). And they at once cut the tower down, which falling, killed many of the Na-ong, and those that remained had to separate on account of their not being able to understand one another. And even today broken earthern pots are to be found on that plain which is called Dalon-partan."[48] And so we see that the Lepchas also possess myths pertaining to the flood, to the building of the tower and the babel of tongues in common with so many other South Asian peoples, *e.g.* the Miau, the Lolo, the Thai, the Mikmir and many others.

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[47] G. B. Mainwaring, A grammar of the Róng (Lepcha) Language, Calcutta, 1876, p. XX.

(*d*) THE LAND OF THE GODS AND SPIRITS

The myth describing the building of the tower demonstrates the effort made by the Lepchas to reach Rum-lyang, the land of the gods. The Lepchas are of the opinion that this land lies in the region of the heavens. From this land Rum is supposed to look down to earth. From there too, gods and spirits come down to the land of men, or they send messengers and strange powers in the form of thunderbolts to bring about strange births on earth.[49] On the other hand heroes, and the steeds on which they ride may occasionally fly up to heaven before actual dying. These are the same mythical motifs that are common among the Tibetans.[50]

The ancestral spirits, who, as we saw above, are in Mayal, are sometimes said to be in Rum-lyang. We shall probe into this question more deeply, when we treat about the cult of death.

According to other Lepchas, the land of the gods does not lie above, in the region of the heavens but below. Consequently they call this region "Dhing-song-rum." "Dhing-song" means below. The Kalimpong native on whose authority we have sometimes relied, indulges in the following line of reasoning, "The seed must fall down into the earth before it can spring forth and bear fruit. When it has ripened it falls down to the earth once again. This is the line of action from lower to the higher. And so it must be that the land of the gods must be below." In this as in other matters we find that there is a varied line of reasoning among the Lepchas.

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[48] Stocks, op. cit. p. 359 sq.
[49] Stocks, op. cit. p. 336 sq.
[50] op. cit. p. 337.

(e) The Land of Souls

Some Lepchas believe that the souls of the departed go to the country of the ancestors, Ren djong or Mayal. Others say on the contrary that the soul goes to Rum-lyang. It was there before birth ; thither it returns again after death to be born again as a little child in the land of souls. Immediately after death, the soul goes to an intermediate place Sön-lyang, originally called Söm-lon, the leader of souls. The Bong-thing summons it back thence and asks it, at the death ceremony how it died, whether it was through illness or through the magic of wicked men. The soul then comes to the ear of the Bong-thing and gives him this important information. He makes the necessary provisions for the individual soul on the basis of this information. The Mun or Bong-thing then leads the soul to the Rum-lyang and locks it up securely so that it cannot return to its pristine home or relations or cause them any manner of harm. The entire ceremony is performed in the Sang-lion rite. A year after death the Bong-thing goes in a trance to Rum-lyang, opens up the place where the soul had been locked. There he finds a little child. He dresses it up in a child's clothes and releases it to live and grow up among the other ancestors.[51]

According to others there is an intermediate place called Tiamtan, or Sari-rung-dong-chen or Siri-nong-dong-chen.[52] Another place is called Nyo-lyang, the abode of the wicked. There are divergent views about the land of souls, just as there are about the land of gods. An old Mun woman of Git-biyong gave us this pertinent item of information, "We bring the souls of the dead very high up in to the heavens and very near the Supreme God, Ta-she-thing. He it is who has created us, the animals and everything else."

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[51] cfr. G. Gorer, Himalayan Village, London 1938, p. 353 sq.
[52] cfr. Stocks, op. cit. p. 337.

(*f*) THE CONCEPT OF GOD

The Lepchas express the idea of God by the word "Rum." By this term they understand gods and spirits which are favourable to men and who offer them protection. In contrast to the word Rum, they have the word "Mung" to indicate the goblins and the demons who are harmful to man. The Rong possess a few genealogies of gods with which we shall later become acquainted. The name "Rum" standing all by itself expresses the idea of the Supreme God ; but words expressing the special attributes of the Supreme God are often joined to the word "Rum." To cite a few instances : Pum means "first cause," "the essential," "the absolute," "the first beginning," and so we have the words : Pum-rum, Pum-thing or Pum-thing-rum, which are popular names for the Chief God. Then again "ayit (it)," "(ay)it-de," "de-bo," or "(ay) it-bo" mean "to create," "to produce," and we have the words It-rum, De-rum, It-bo and Pum-bo, all of which express the idea of God as the creator. Some of the Lepchas say that the Supreme God is not the creator, but that he delegated the function of creation to some other spirits. In the concept of God that is current among the Rong, we can observe that the original functions of the Supreme God have been attributed to spirits who are looked upon by them as the adjutants and the supporters of the Supreme God. This is how the divine genealogies originate and lead up to a kind of demiurge and other forms.

Some of the Mun and the Bong-thing call the Supreme God, Sa-dzug-rum. Sa-dzug is the sun. Sa-dzug-rum means "sun god" as well as "God of the heavens." "Ta-she-thing" is a very common name for the Supreme Being. Su-li-man, a Lepcha from the Bam-ling tribe, who lives in Se-ryo-cha, gave us this description of the Supreme God. "Ta-she-thing is the Supreme God. He is everywhere. Anyone who understands the rites may offer him a sacrifice." Ta-she-thing is the name given also to Padmasambhava who is the founder of Lamaism in Tibet. Occasionally one meets with the rather long drawn out name "Ta-she-tak-bo-thing." "Tak-bo-thing" or "Tok-bo-thing" is regarded by some as the son of Ta-she-thing. The majority of the Lepchas are of the opinion that Rum has no wife. But other names used for the Supreme God are expressive of the belief that he had a wife. Han-bu-ni Mun said, "Sa-dzug-rum has a wife by the name of Gor-song-mu." Sa-liang, son of the Bong-thing Ong-di, contradicts this statement, "Sa-dzug-rum has no wife, but he has four help-mates. These are the four spirits who cause disquite and unrest in the world. They have to be appeased by sacrifices which we perform twice a year. Sa-dzug-rum is not the god of creation, which took place through another god."

Stocks writes, "It appears that there were five original deities : It-mo and her husband Pa-sandi, their children, Nazong-gnyu and Takbo-thing and Tashe-thing, the son of the former. In these creative power is attributed to the female deities, It-mo and Nazong-gnyu (note 1). The latter (Pasandi) is only mentioned once, and as apparently there is much confusion between the functions of him and of his son, Takbo-thing, it would be difficult to establish his real nature."[53] The same confusion exists between Ta-she-thing and Tak-bo-thing. We may note however that a female deity, contrary to the belief of Gorer, is never regarded as a Supreme Being. Gorer considers It-bo-mo to be female,[54] but we have seen that It-bo or Ayit-bo means the god of creation. The Dän-si Bong-thing from Ka-fär says, "In the beginning there was only the God, RUM. He had no special name. The demons Mung were non-existent at the time. Then came the first pair of deities, Agek-rum and Alat-rum, the god and goddess of procreation. Then too, there existed Ta-she-thing and Tak-bo-thing. There was besides, It-bo and his wife De-bo. It-bo was the god of creation who created the first man, Ti-gung-tik." We did not come across the concept of a goddess as the Highest Being in all the Lepcha mythology, but we found certain very definite evidences of the belief that the Supreme God has a wife (cfr. genealogy of God p. 60).

Another important god is Pum-rum, the god of the hunters. He is also called, among other names, Dju-thing or Pong-rum. Dju-thing is honoured as a threefold being. In the highest

[53] op. cit. p. 337.
[54] op. cit. p. 235.

mountain regions he is called Mo-nom-dju, for it is he who leads the chamois and the wild sheep, Mo-nom, to the hunters. In the lower hills he is called Se-go-bu-log-dju and delivers up stag, bears and other game. In the lower plains he is called Se-wing-dju, or the one who helps capture the game of the plains. Gom-shi and Gom-yu-rum are hunting gods and it is they who instil in the hunters the passion for hunting. The god of the hunters is worshipped exclusively by the men and the women do not in any way participate in the worship. We shall consider the details of this sacrifice at a later stage. The Rong claim that "Rum-zong-pa-no gave them bows, arrows and knives and taught them how to shoot fish."

The wife of Rum-zong-pa-no is Na-li-pun-di who instructed the women in the arts of farming, weaving and taught them housework and the use of the sickle. Sa-dju is another god venerated as god of agriculture. If a housewife who is possessed by Sa-dju dies, the spirit continues to possess one of her daughters even though the daughter may have in the meanwhile left the family through marriage. This deity appears to the women in dreams in the guise of an old man. If the apparition has a large goitre it augurs well for a rich harvest. If on the other hand it has no goitre at all it omens a bad harvest.

We already know from myths related earlier, that the Lepchas were given the first seeds by higher beings. These seeds were gaguni, which has the appearance of a millet-like maize ; sama, a kind of white millet ; goya, dry rice, and mokai, red maize. The dog plays an important role in the obtaining of rice and hence the Rong give, each time, some portion of the rice they eat to the dog. We have noticed how, after a meal of rice, the remnants are scattered on the floor, and the dogs, which otherwise are not allowed inside the house, came in and ate the rice. The sacrifice to the god of agriculture is usually offered by the housewife. Nevertheless the man can offer the sacrifice if for some grave reason the woman is unable to do so. Man is not altogether excluded from the performance of the sacrifice, as is the case with the women in the sacrifice to the god of the hunters.

The family or household god is Rum-fat, who is the protector of domestic animals. The two gods of procreation, Ayek-rum and Alat-rum, have an important part in their worship. The spirits that protect individual persons are also of importance. This is particularly true of Hit-rum who is the protecting spirit of the Bong-thing. When a Bong-thing dies his soul, like a shadow, goes to Hit-rum. The Dän-si Bong-thing from Ka-fär has the following nine protecting spirits : Sur-mu-mu-rum, Bong-thing-rum, Dang-mu-rum, Niu-leg-rum, Mön-lam-rum, Tok-tzöm-rum, Darmit-rum, Nam-jin-rum. These he must honour in a very special manner. Thus we see that the Rong believe in the existence of many gods and spirits and take pains in arranging them in the order of male and female couples.

In contrast with these benign gods are the innumerable hordes of demons and goblins who cause harm to men and animals, fields and forests. There are tracks in the mountains which are considered to be the footsteps of the gigantic monster, Mi-gat-mung. Ma-ra-mung is a very evil demon, who flies up into the sky and reveals himself there in the form of comets, northern lights and other astral phenomena. Each one of the human illnesses is caused by a demon : Ru-mung, consumption ; Dom-mung, leprosy ; etc., and these constitute the great flock of disease-demons. Goblins and witches lurk in the mountains, woods, gorges and deserts. It is necessary to obtain safeguards and measures of protection against all demons and evil spirits, and these are vouchsafed by the Supreme Being through his priests, the Mun and the Bong-thing.

(*g*) THE MUN AND THE BONG-THING

Stocks quotes an illuminating legend concerning the origin of the Bong-thing. Through the interchanging of the Waters of Life and Death the Mung demons had acquired immortality. It became incumbent on God to set right the order of things. "Everything was nearly completed, but a Bong-thing was required as a mediator to speak between the Rum and the Humans" (Rum made many efforts that failed). "...Then there was only one child of the Creator left, and he didn't wish to leave home, but the Creator who loved him like a mother, told him he ought to go and see his brothers and sisters, the Himalaya Mountains, and the lakes and all the rivers, in order that he might become a Bong-thing to help the humans against the evil spirits.

And the child asked It-mo what would be the best things to carry with him on the journey, and the Creator gave him some ginger (salep), some garlic (paki-mun-gu) and a tree, the fruit of which he could place on a stick and burn slowly like a lamp (the safi-kun). And all these things are used externally and internally by the Bong-thing today, and from all these plants and bulbs medicine is made.

Taking all these bulbs the son came to the Lung-tun-parten tableland in the Himalayas but he found that the Mung had already come to that place ; they had, indeed, spread over the whole country; they were in all the mountains and in all the trees and in all the caves. So he said to them, 'I was sent to go round the world, but you seem to be everywhere before me, so I will return to the Creator.'

But when he turned and was leaving the Mung caught hold of him saying, 'On one condition we will do everything you command ;—when we worry the human beings with disease and illness we will go away and leave them in peace if, in return, you will give us some fowls, eggs, pigs or any other animals.' The Bong-thing said, 'You force me to do this. Only swear you will leave all human beings in peace. I will call my brothers Sakbri-bu and Sahnang-bu to act as witnesses.' To this they all agreed and at the Partam-Sakber, the Mung swore that when they worried human persons with illness they would leave the sick person in peace were the Bong-thing do attend to the patient, and propitiate them, the Mung, by giving them offerings of a cow, a pig or of several goats. To make doubly sure, the Bong-thing asked the Mung to swear by spitting on a rock there, which they did, and so great was the oath that it shattered the rock to pieces. And again he asked them to swear and spit in the lake which they did ; but the oath was so great that it caused the lake to dry up. Yet once more he asked them to swear by spitting on a tree which they did ; but the tree could not bear the weight of the oath and it fell. This was the covenant between the Bong-thing and the Mung and we, the Rong folk, believe this is the origin of the Bong-thing. . . . . And when he had done this, he went up to Tiamtan where he built a palace and we, the Rong folk, believe he still lives there. It is a country that lies midway between heaven (Rum-lyang) and earth."[55]

The prime characteristic of the Mun or the Bong-thing is the heavenly calling to officiate as intermediaries between god and man. The Ling-gu Lepcha from Maria-Basti relates an interesting fact : "If, in a dream, a man sees a thread descend on himself from heaven, he has to interpret it as a summons from heaven to be a Bong-thing or a Mun. Those pre-elected in this manner must necessarily obey the summons and dedicate themselves to this office. It may happen that a man sees the thread descend on someone else. In this case he is not bound to reveal his dream to the person concerned, who will in any case obey the summons. If however anyone cuts the thread all of a sudden as the thread is descending on the elected one, death will unexpectedly overtake the one so elected."

The Dän-si Bong-thing from Ka-fär Basti gives us an illuminating account of his experience in this regard. "Before I became a Bong-thing," he narrates, "I became like one possessed, and was driven into the heart of the forest. I was utterly downcast and goaded on to a state of despair. As time elapsed, I got accustomed to this state and began to perceive the animals of the forest. The spirit then carried me to a dizzy and precipitous rocky projection where I spent the night. At midnight I was filled with superhuman strength, so much so that I uprooted a gigantic tree. The following morning the spirit brought me back. A man who had noticed me uprooting the tree reported the incident to my parents, who decided that I should become a Bong-thing.'’

At the age of about sixteen, the Gu-gu Bong-thing suffered from a malingering illness which left him in a state of perpetual exhaustion. As this state continued with an alarming uninterruptedness, his parents decided that he should become a Bong-thing. He agreed to this and became a disciple of the Bong-thing, A-thi.

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[55] op. cit. p. 349 sq.

The Han-bu-ni from Git-biyong gives us a rather detailed report of her initiation. "My maternal grandmother was a Mun. At the age of nine I fell ill and commenced speaking a variety of languages. The people said, 'It is the spirit of her grandmother, the Mun let, who speaks through her.' So my parents summoned a Bong-thing who performed the sacrifice of initiation, offering a bullock, a pig and a goat. Thereafter I was apprenticed to a female Mun for a period of three years during which time I was taught the prayers, the traditions and the ceremonies. After the completion of my apprenticeship the sacrifice was renewed. I was given full powers and began to sacrifice independently. Should I desire to conjure up my spirit, I offer chi, butter, and incense in sacrifice and the spirit quickly responds to my summons to appear. I notice at first a blurred object, like a cloud of dust approaching me. My heart tells me that the spirit is near."

This woman, who is over eighty years of age today, and is Mun as well as Andshemu, has recently become a Christian. We asked her whether the old spirit did not harass her for having given up her former priesthood and ceased to honour it. "Not at all. The spirit does not torment me in the least," she replied. Later she proudly said to the Lepchas, "It is my privilege to instruct this great European priest who comes from China and Tibet, in the teachings of the Mun and the Bong-thing." She was very pleased to find us interested in the old traditions. She knew a little Tibetan, and loved to converse with us in that language.

A Rong woman, whose father and brother are both Bong-thing, has narrated to us the following story, "In the evening my father drank chi. This made him excited and he danced through the night. Very often three more Bong-thing came to our house and they all danced together. That is customary with the Mun and the Bong-thing. In the neighbourhood there are three women and two men who hold their dances by turns in each other's houses. This dance festival must take place at least three times a year; —in April at the barley harvest; in September at the first millet harvest, and finally in October at the second millet harvest. Torma (Tibetan expression for sacrificial images) of rice and butter are in the first instance brought forward. These are offered with little roasted birds, fish, incense and chi, and in addition a rupee in money. Prior to the actual offering, garlands of flowers are prepared and hung up in the house. The flowers are called "Sa-gi." "Amiäl" means garlands, and it is from these that the festival derives its name "Sa-gi-sa-amiäl." The god of power is also called "Sa-gi." "Sa-gi-fat" means sacrifice and annual festival. After the performance of the sacrifice the men and women begin to dance, and during the dance they sometimes fall to the ground and twitch and tremble. They are then lifted up and continue with the dance. The onlookers keep watch to ensure that none of the dancers escapes from the room. The spirit of my father who is now dead has passed over to my brother, Sa-hö."

Next comes the actual vocation. This always takes place during an illness when the physical powers of the patient are at a low ebb. We had the opportunity of observing the case of a girl who was, however, not a Lepcha but a Kami. The sequence of events is nonetheless identical. The child is said to be possessed by a Limbu spirit and at such times she speaks the Limbu language. The people, therefore, insist that she must become a soothsayer. The girl gets epileptic fits and froths at the mouth. The nerves are upset and distraught and the people see in all this a case of possession by the spirit. The girl still is with her parents and prays each day at definite times to the spirit and renders it homage. At a later stage the girl is brought to a teacher ; not however to a Lepcha teacher, but to a Nepalese magician, since a Lepcha will not teach a member of another tribe.

All those who receive this summons from the spirit must necessarily answer the summons and go to a teacher who will give them the required initiation, instruction, practices, and teach them the prayers. A great sacrifice, mentioned by the Han-bu-ni Mun above, has to be performed by way of initiation. Gorer describes this ceremony as follows, "In the house a little table is set up. On it to the right lies a scarf of honour with a rupee. In the middle is a wooden vessel which is filled with chi and garnished with butter round the rim. On the right is a stone incense-burner filled with Tibetan incense, and dry twigs from the cypress tree. In front of the little table is a winnower on which parts of the animal sacrifices are arranged in the following manner : opposite the vessel is the skull turned towards the table. Behind it are the entrails. To the left of the skull is a hind leg, to the front is a foreleg. Between the foreleg and the entrails is a thigh with a little meat. When everything is arranged, the teacher sits behind the table a little to the left, in front of the scarf. His pupil sits on his right. Then he lays the scarf on the pupil's hand and recites the prayers, which the apprentice repeats after him sentence by sentence. Then the master makes a ceremonial speech to the initiated in which he explains : 'Now the price for the freeing of your body is paid to the demon, but under one condition, that you consecrate your life to the Mun-god, and that you offer up your body as his dwelling place.' After this speech he hands the vessel filled with the chi to his pupil so that he can drink from it three times from three different places. This drinking of the chi from the vessel garnished with butter stands for the actual ritual consecration. With this the pupil is bound for three years to study with his master. At the end of the instruction, a second sacrifice of a bullock is performed. With this the pupil is given full powers and can function independently.

The most important sacrificial offering for all these ceremonies is the bullock. An ox is desirable. If a pig is given the neophite will be unable to expel Lom-doon-moong (the devil of Jaundice). If a goat, he will be unable to expel Mat-moong, (the devil who produces various unpleasant symptoms which are the results of ancestral quarrels)."[56]

According to our investigations, the Mun and the Bong-thing are both equally powerful magicians. They only, can expel demons and appease the gods through sacrifice. Both, men as well as women, can be Mun. The Mun spirit is not a female spirit but can choose either men or women as its servants. The Bong-thing can only be a man. The Mun and the Bong-thing whom we were able to observe, do not wear any special ceremonial dress or ornaments during their activities, neither do they use the double skull-drum (damaru) nor the big flat round Shaman-drum (rnga). For the sacrifice they do not use either the magic dagger (phur-bu) or the thunderbolt (rdo-rje), nor conch trumpets (dung), nor flutes made from human thigh bones (rkang-gling), nor the trident, nor the cup of the human skull (thod-pa). All the above mentioned articles are however indispensable to the Tibetan magicians, the Inner Asiatic and the Siberian Shamans. It is therefore evident, that the Mun and the Bong-thing cannot be identical with the Tibetan Bon-po as some scholars state. They belong rather to that primitive priest class, which has not been influenced by the typical Shamanism which operated in Tibet and spread from there to some Himalayan districts, to Inner and East Asia. The Mun and the Bong-thing are not allowed to practise any black magic as such. This is attributed to them by the neighbouring people, who consequently fear them greatly. During our investigations on this subject we repeatedly heard it said, "Only a wicked and demoralised Mun and Bong-thing would use his powers to harm another person, for their vocation is precisely to help people and to warn off all harm." The Mun wears no prayer cord. When he has to make a prophecy, he calls to his spirit, who comes on to his shoulder and speaks through his mouth. The Bong-thing has a prayer string, which he uses when prophesying. This string however, differs from the Tibetan one and has no definite number of beads.

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[56] op. cit. p. 479.

In the white magic practised by the Lepchas we found many parallels with the ancient Chinese white magic, which had not as yet been influenced by the typical Inner Asiatic Shamanism. There is something in common to both in the matter of casting out demons. The magician compels the demon to enter into a pot of blood. Once the demon is in, he closes the pot and buries it.[57] Their dances have certain characteristics in common with the Wu,—the ancient Chinese magicians. In everything we find the content of the ancient class of magic which was widely spread and which preceded the Inner Asiatic Shamanism. There it received later the typical shaping which today, under the name of Shamanism wrongly includes all similar phenomena. The Mun and the Bong-thing bear the closest resemblance to the Barwas of the Bhils, the Pariar or Parihar of the Korkus (Central India), the Mantravadis of the Parayans and Pulayans (South India), and the Mantravadis of many other primitive tribes of India. We find here a very old class of magicians who have maintained their primitive tradition, and have well established rites and rules.

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[57] cfr. Dictionary of the Lepcha Language, op. cit. p. 294 a.b.

Next in importance to the Mun and the Bong-thing, the male Pau and the female Andshemu or Nandshemu are to be found among the Lepchas. Both these are said to be Tibetan spirits and are not empowered to perform the great sacrifices. They need the equipment of the Tibetan Shaman:—thunderbolts, skull-drums, etc. Tibetan influence is clearly evinced in all details. It may be noted that a Mun can also be an Andshemu, *e.g.* Han-bu-ni whom we have mentioned on more than one occasion. When she came forth as an Andshemu she spoke Tibetan in the trance and employed the Tibetan articles in the performance of the ceremonies. A Bong-thing can at the same time be a Pau, and he uses the Tibetan articles when he presents himself as a Pau. Some investigators have failed to observe this difference, and have in consequence erroneously declared the Mun and the Bong-thing to be identical with the Tibetan Bon-po. Gorer failed to perceive this important distinction, and hence there occur in his work, statements which are contradictory to the observations we have made. He states, for example, that the Mun are only female. We have taken great pains to verify that there are both male and female Mun. He calls the Bong-thing "Padem," who was supposed to represent a Tibetan spirit. This, however, indicates the extent to which Tibetan influence has extended in the area, particularly as the district in which Gorer carried out his research lay further north, to the Tibetan frontier. Gorer considers the Bong-thing to be weaker than the Mun, which again is not true in the districts in which we carried out our research. He draws a distinction between two kinds of Mun; the good Tang-li Mun, the white magician, and the bad Mun-mook Mun, the black magician. Gorer however admits that whether one belongs to one type or to the other, depends upon the teacher from whom the instruction is received. If the teacher is a black magician, he teaches the black arts. It therefore has nothing to do with the Mun spirit who would be from the very beginning an evil being. This entirely contradicts the ancient tradition of the Mun and the Bong-thing who were established as mediators between God and men and as the protectors of men against the machinations of the demons. To this date the Mun and the Bong-thing have preserved these old traditions.[58]

The spirits of the Mun and the Bong-thing do not always live in their mediums, but they stay in a place called Tiamtan, as we learned above. They come down from there only when they are summoned. They take complete possession of their mediums only two or three times each year, particularly at the time of the festivals of the great sacrifices. At other times the mediums do not fall into a total trance. As we did not have the opportunity of observing such a trance personally, we repeat the description as given by Gorer, "When they come down, the vessel which receives them feels as though bowed down by a heavy weight.

The Moon only takes possession of this vessel twice a year, once in the hot season, and once in the wet season. This is a big ceremony and elaborate sacrifices are made. The day before the sacrifices I start feeling ill ; I feel heavy and pressed down and cannot bear any noise. I tremble constantly and I am covered with sweat. I pray to the gods to let me off, and I offer the chi and incense in preparation for them to wait for the true sacrifices. The next day the ceremony is held inside a house and many people are present. I sit down cross-legged in front of the offerings. Besides the ordinary offerings there is a wreath of flowers and a flower bedecked stick. When I sit opposite these I feel a heavy burden pressed over my shoulders and as if my flesh is being poked with sticks—zinga-zinga-zinga-zinga ; suddenly a sort of darkness comes over my eyes, it is as if I was in a sort of dream so that I know, see and remember nothing. But from what other people have told me and from what I have seen when other Mun have prophesied I know what takes place ; I put on the flower necklace and take up the stick and go and walk in the courtyard. (Were anybody else to put on the necklace on me the gods would be angry, and the rash man would receive the burden of the gods.) When I return everybody is hushed even the children.

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[58] Cfr. Gorer, op. cit. p. 220 sq.

I blow into each person's face and on the offering; then I scatter chi and prophesy in a loud and audible voice the things which are going to take place in the following half year. After the prophecy, I recover consciousness; but not till cock crow next day do I feel all right again.

When I am called in the case of an illness, the god does not fully enter me but I see the devil which is attacking the sick person either in the form of some animals or insect or person, depending on which devil it is. Thus Lum-dong-mong appears in a pig, Sor-moog as a dirty ragged old woman, Arot-moong as a red butterfly. I see these visions out of the corner of my eye; if I look directly there is nothing there. But I watch these devils carefully out of the corner of my eye; if they go away without eating anything the patient will recover quickly; but if they take food the patient will probably die though I only tell him that the illness is very serious."[59] (fig. 19.)

(*h*) THE SACRIFICES OF THE MUN AND THE BONG-THING

We had the opportunity of being present at and observing the sacrifice for a sick woman, by the Lha-ba Bong-thing (who is also a Pau). This sacrifice is called Mung-zug-fat. Mung-zug means "to cast out demons"; "fat" is sacrifice. To start with, all the things necessary for the sacrifice are kept in readiness. The Torma of rice and butter are arranged. The chi containers are filled, the butter-lamps are put up; incense and holy water are kept ready. A bullock is then brought near the front door of the house. A rope is tied to its right horn and the other end of the rope is taken into the house, and the sick woman is asked to hold it in her hand. The Bong-thing then comes near the ox and says, "Instead of the life of the woman, take the life of the ox. I am giving you the life of this ox in lieu of the life of this woman. His

[59] op. cit. p. 220 sq.

life is of greater value than hers. Take it! The body and soul of the ox are greater than those of this person. Take them! Leave the people in peace." As he says this he offers chi, rice and butter, laying these three sacrificial gifts on the forehead of the animal. Then, he says with greater emphasis, "The body and the soul of this animal must be sacrificed." The ox is then killed by the blow of an axe on the nape of its neck. Any one except a woman, can perform the actual killing; for if a woman were to kill the animal it would be a terrible misfortune and no one would be allowed to eat the meat. The head of the ox is then severed from the body and the body is carved up. The legs are taken off, the entrails and the internal organs are drawn out, the head is taken off, the thorax is divided vertically into two, and the loins with the tail are dissected.

The first part of the sacrifice is performed in front of the house near the door. Except for the head, loins, tail and the entrails, the left side of the animal is sacrificed to the demons. From the more valuable parts, *e.g.* the heart, liver, spleen, kidneys and lungs, only very small pieces are taken away for the sacrifice to the demons. The Torma for about fourteen demons are placed on a little table; for Ge-be-mung, Techü-mung (the fever-demon), Tsang-dog-mung (the demon who causes stiffness in the limbs), Me-sun-mung (the life-spirit), Mög-nyan-mung, Ka-so-mu, Me-mu and others whose names we could not ascertain. It is believed that the demons are appeased through this sacrifice, that they leave the sick person and come no more into the house.

The second part of the sacrifice takes place inside the house. The right side of the animal together with the head, the more valuable parts, the entrails, the loins and the tail are ranged in the following manner: In the large room a little distance away from the fire place, the skin of the animal is spread on the floor with its hairy side down, and the tail end nearest the fire place. Over this the skull is laid at the head end, with the snout pointing to a little table which is placed against the wall opposite to the fireplace. A little behind the skull the fore and the hind legs are placed on the right and left side of it. In between the legs are laid the breast bones, the loins, the tail, entrails and the valuable parts. These cover up the entire skin. The blood is not used at all. On the little table that is against the wall the Tormas are deposited and in front of them the two butter-lamps. The order of the Tormas is as follows: (See the drawing figs. 20 & 21) 1. Rum-thing-bo-a-mu, the wife of the supreme God. 2. Rum-thing-bo-a-bo, the Supreme God. 3. Nyom, the daughter-in-law. 4. Rum-thing-bo-ta-gri-köb, the son of the Supreme God. 5. San-tug-kan-dro-mu (San-tug is a place below Algara; Kan-dro-mu is evidently like the Tibetan bKa-gro-ma, a sky fairy.) 6. Don-dyö-chi-log, another spirit who personifies both the intoxicating drinks, dyö and chi. Each of these six deities has on either side of it two servants who are called Bya-ro. Torma number 2, which represents the Supreme God, is the largest. It is about five inches high, of oval shape and is decorated with ten small lumps of butter as is shown in the drawing. Torma number 1, the wife, is smaller, being about four inches high and round in shape with the same decorations of butter. Tormas number 3 to 6 are similar to number 1, except that they are three inches high only. In front of this row are three Ka to, Tormas number 7, 8 & 9. In a squarish socket five cone shaped objects are placed. These are perhaps symbolical of the five-peaked mountain, but we could find out nothing more definite about them. Torma number 10 is a deity, Ka-to-sam or Gon-hiu-so. It is about two inches high, conical in shape, and decorated with streaks of butter. The Tormas of the Bya-ro servants are all alike, a little smaller and devoid of decorations. Before the table on which are placed the Tormas and the butter-lamps, there are five bamboo vessels and a wooden cup filled with chi. The cup, which stands fourth from the left, has its rim decorated with three little lumps of butter and is called San-dyö. We notice here again the names "chi" and "dyö" borne by the sixth deity. In front of these vessels there is a second small table, and six piles of rice placed on six banana leaf-plates lie on it. On top of each pile of rice are deposited a rib of the sacrifice and tiny pieces of the heart, liver, lung, spleen and kidneys. The number SIX is therefore a standard,—there are six principal gods, six chi containers, six piles of rice and six pieces of meat.

A banana leaf-plate containing rice is placed behind the skin on which the pieces of sacrificial flesh had been placed.

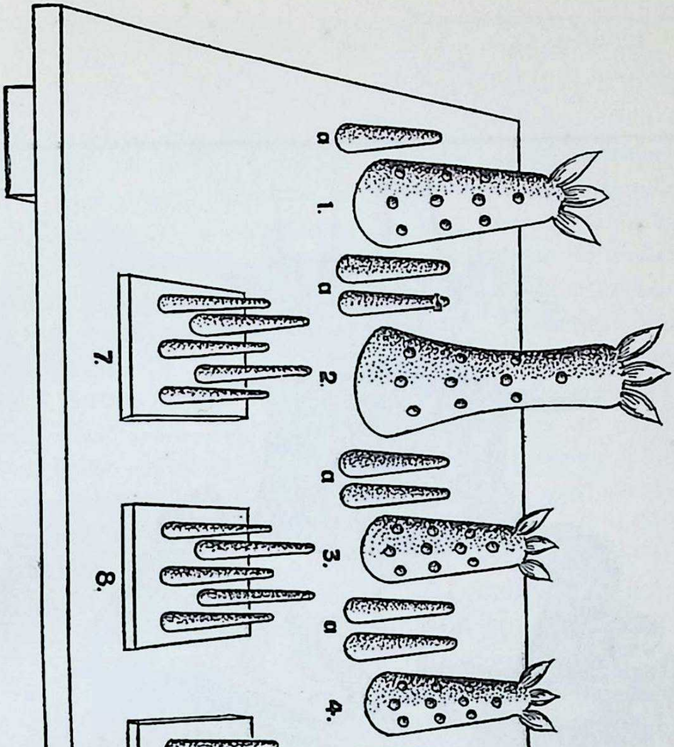
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Fig. 20, Tormas of the gods

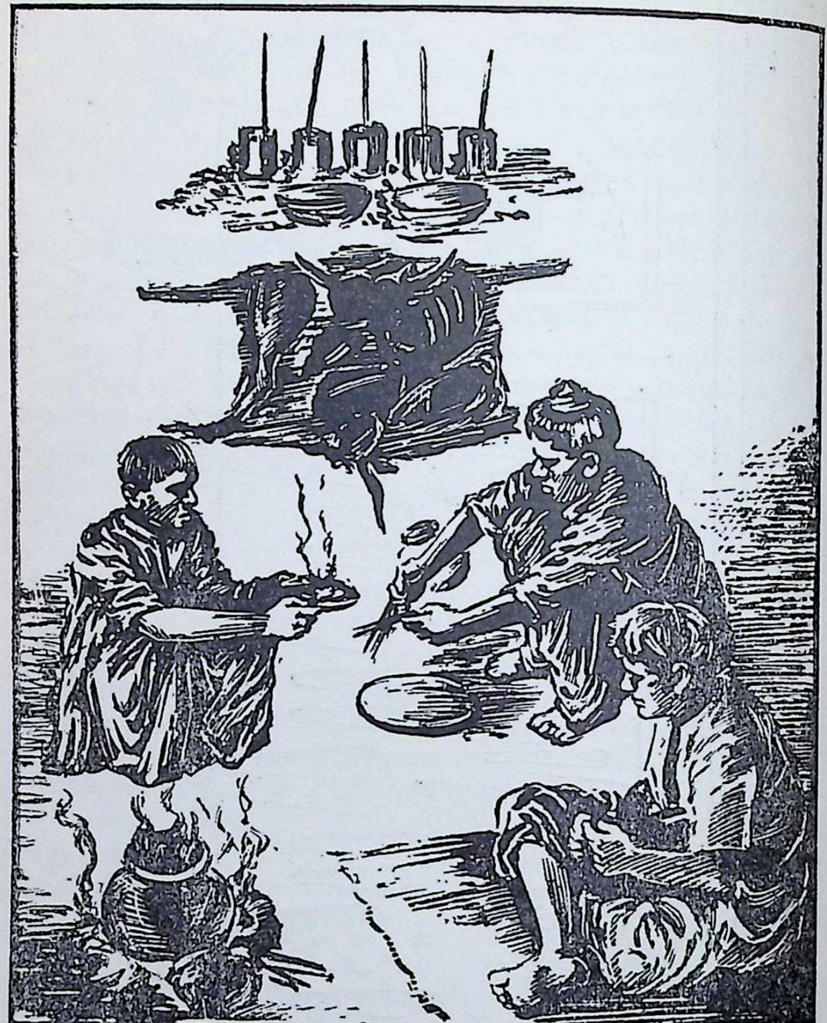

Fig. 21, The cattle sacrifice

On the right side of this plate is an earthenware pot filled with water. The Bong-thing sits in front of the sacrifice with his back to the fire. Beside him is an assistant holding a brazier with incense. The incense consists of dried twigs from the cypress trees of Tibet. The Lepchas call the tree "dag-döl-gung." The priest takes in his right hand the "purifier" which is made out of three branches of Amliso, *i.e.* Po-chior. He then summons the god and when the branches move to and fro, it is a sign that the spirit has come. Now the Bong-thing begins the sacrificial prayer, "Sang so (incense is burnt) ; tza ni bu tza lo ! tzab den bu geno ! (Incense offering ! Tibetan name—magic formula, praying it, holy water is to be sprinkled from the pitcher ; it appears to be corrupt Tibeta tzab, which is the same as chab, signifying water.)

"To the star god, the Gun dö god, the sun god, the Sam yig god, the Sog god, the Gōm shi god, the Göm yu god (I make) this offering of incense. The offering (I make) in the smoke of incense. Come hither O gods ! Gold Torma and money Torma I offer in sacrifice. Come hither Ka to and Gon hiu. I offer in sacrifice. Spirit of the millet beer—and spirit of the rice offering come hither. The sacrifice is offered, the incense offering is made. tza ni bu tza lo! tzab den bu geno (magic formula). Goddess Amu mōn mu, Ha mu, Mi lig mu, Miā song mu, Chu mu, Yuk mu, Se mu ; son Chu go ri go chen chen, daughter-in-law Nyom mu, father and mother ! [60]

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[60] sa hor rum bu gun dö rum bu sa dzug rum bu sam yig rum bu
(to the) star god, Gun dö god, sun god, Sam yig god,

sog rum bu gōm shi rum bu gōm yu rum bu sang blong ga
Sog god, Gom shi god, Gōm yu god, offering of incense

pö blong ga ! (incense is offered here) kög ma o ! dyär pa dong, gom pa
in smoke, incense offering, in smoke ! come here ! Gold Torma, money

dong dzän dong däm dong hiu o ! Ka to gon chiu blong ga ! dzän dong
Torma sacrifice ! sacrifice ! Ka to and Gon hiu come here! sacrifice,

hiu däm dong hiu ma o. Chi log so log
sacrifice ! Millet beer(spirit), rice offering (spirit)

blong ga dzän dong hiu däm dong hiu o ! ön sang so ! sang so !
come here ! sacrifice ! sacrifice! Incense offering, incense offering!

tza ni bu tza lo ! tzab den bu geno ! Amu mön mu, ha mu, mi lig mu,
(Magic formula while water is sprinkled) (All are names for the wife of

miä song mu, chu mu, yuk mu, se mu ; chu go ri go chen chen bu
the God). (Name of the son of the Supreme God)

I offer the smoke of incense. Come hither! To the father and to the mother I offer gold Torma, I offer money Torma; I offer, I offer, I offer incense to San tug kan dro mu; come hither! I offer incense; come hither! I offer to Chi, the millet beer spirit, to the rice offering spirit, to Dyö, the millet beer spirit; come hither! Verify this, O God, that we are sick. Come hither and tell it; come here and say it. How the head is racked with pain, the loins ache, the body, the hands, the feet are paining and the belly is aching, this O God verify. Come hither and state it. How the demons bite that examine ye gods; come here and tell it. In this manner I sacrifice this bound bull for the sick person. As a substitute for the body and the soul I offer this bull. I offer this substitute of life; I sacrifice this bound bull as a substitute for the body. I sacrifice this bound bull to Ge bu."[60a]

[60a] nyom mu — yab yum pong
(Daughter-in-law of the Supreme God). — Father, mother (Tibetan names for the whole family of the God.)

sang blong ga — kög ma o! — yab yum dyär pa dong
I offer smoke of incense! Come here! To Father, Mother I offer gold Torma.

gom pa dong — dzän dong hiu — fat ma o
I offer money Torma, I offer! — I offer!

San tug kan dro mu sang blong ga — kög gad mao.
To San tug Kan dro mu offer of incense! — Come here!

plö blong ga kög gad mao!
offer of incense, come here!

chi log — so log — sang dyö ma djin — blong ga
Millet beer (spirit), Rice offer (spirit), Millet beer (spirit) offer!

kög gad mao go yu song dog non — rum dyop ga — plö buo dön ga
Come here! That we are sick, examine this O God now. Come here and tell us.

plö buo — sareb song adyak non
Come here and say it. — How the head aches,

achyang dog non — me so dog non — a go a tong dog
the loins pain, — the body pains, — hands and feet pain,

ta bak dog — a yu rum pong dyop ga — plö buo!
the belly aches. O God examine these things. Come here and tell it.

an sareb song — mung nöng tzug bang ga rum dyop ga — plö buo
How the demons bite examine that ye gods. — Come here and tell it.

alom bö mad — big djäk chim yu re söm
In this way I sacrifice this bound bull for the sick person.

me sö löm — sa lo löm — big bu
As a body substitute, as a soul substitute — I sacrifice this bull.

sok löm bu — me sö löm
I sacrifice this substitute of life, as a body substitute

big djäk bu mo — Ge bu long big — long djäk bu mo."
this bound bull I sacrifice. To the Ge bu, this bull, this bound bull I sacrifice."

During the prayer, the one who performed the sacrifice added the expression "lang nam" in chosen places; it means "the year of the bull," because the sick person was born in the year of the bull. Lang is the Tibetan expression for the Zodiac bull. As the prayer ended, the assistant took some of the sacrificial meat, rice and chi and offered it to Me-summung, the demon who represents the life-principle.

And so the sacrifice came to an end. The portions of meat were cleared away. The fore and hind legs and the valuable parts were given to the priest. The remainder of the meat, as also the skin, were sold in order to enable the family to make a little money. A very small portion of the meat was eaten immediately after the sacrifice. These sacrifices involve a heavy expenditure for the family ; often many sacrifices are offered for the same illness if it is protracted, and this causes the ruin of many people. Hence many prefer to invite the lamaistic monks of the Brug-pa sect, because they are willing to drive out demons of illness at lesser expense.

A female Mun, Mai-li-mo-la-dza-ni, whose personal name is Chin-dün, and who lives near Git-biyong described a similar sacrificial ceremony to us which she holds at the ripening of the millet crop. The preparatory arrangements for the sacrifice are the same as mentioned above, with the following differences: There are only five Tormas for the five deities namely : Sa-dzug-rum, the sun god who is regarded as the Supreme Being, Ni-gung-mön, his wife, Ta-dik-köb, the son, Nyom, the daughter-in-law, and San-tug-kan-dro-mu. There are again two lamps, but five bamboo containers containing chi, five banana leaves with rice, five varieties of meat, and incense, and holy water containers. She is helped by her personal spirits who are Darmit, Dartik, Sang-mu, Dang-mu-rum, Asog-rum, Tzang-rum. The sacrifice progresses in the same sequence as above. This Mun was twenty years old when she fell ill with heart trouble. The Bong-thing A-du said to her, "You must become Mun." She was an apprentice to the female Mun Dja-ge-mo. In addition to her Mun belief, she also practises Lamaism, and has a little prayer wheel and prayer cord. We could not obtain the text of the prayers used in her sacrifice.

From the Gu-gu Bong-thing we procured the text of another prayer said during the sacrifice of a sick person: "Fa dong dju and Fa dong dö, Gom shi, Gom yu gods! (invocation). The earth was created, the water was created, the whole world was created. The millet beer offering chi and the rice offering so were created. The Tög bu ta she was created. Come hither, ye spirits. For the benefit of the creatures, of the world, and of the whole existing creation I sacrifice in this manner. Against suffering and harm I sacrifice. For myself I sacrifice. To the house-hold gods I sacrifice. As it has been handed down from the beginning of earth's creation, so must we sacrifice. Then to the deities of this house (of the sick man), to the Great God of the aTzam sacrifice, to the gods of the soul and the life-spirit (of the sick man), to the Darmit[61]

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61. Fa dong dju fa dong dö
Fa dong dju and Fa dong dö (names for the male and female family gods ; dong is the tribal name ; dju is the male Himalayan mountain spirit ; dö is the female spirit, that comes from the river).

gom shi gom yu rum lyang it ung it
Gom shi and Gom yu gods ! The earth was created, the water was created,

lyang sög döm it chi log so log it
the whole world was created. Millet beer offering, rice offering were created.

lyang tög bu ta she it ga.
Then Tög bu ta she was created. (This is Tak bo thing or Ta she thing so often mentioned, who was the first man or the son of the Supreme God Ta she thing.)

plö sog döm long ming
Come here ! (invitation to the spirits). For the creature's interests of the

dam ga son dön dog ga alom sug bam
whole world and of the whole existing creation I sacrifice in this manner.

adog anot sa pe ka sug bam
Against suffering and harm I sacrifice.

ga do sug to bam rum dar ngag to bam
For myself I sacrifice also. To the household gods I sacrifice at once.

yang ayit plö nöng
Likewise as it has been handed down from the beginning of earth's creation

sug gad bam along do do li rum
thus must we make sacrifice. Now to the deities of this house, to the

atzam athing rum
Great God of the aTzam sacrifice (aTzam sacrifice is the name of the sacrifice which is laid on the bull's forehead, as we saw above),

mung gung man la rum pong darmit rum pong
to the soul and the life-spirit (of the sick man) gods, Darmit gods,

and the Dartik gods, to the water and the flood gods, to all the gods together I sacrifice now. To our life-spirits and soul gods, to Darmit, the god of life's destiny, to Alat and Ayek, the gods of procreation, to the benefactors of the souls, to the gods who lend the strength of life, I must sacrifice, since I know how to do so. The god of my personal destiny is witness ; if I do not sacrifice—then may a long illness come. But if I do know how to perform the right sacrifice—that is a godly thing. If I do not know how to perform the right sacrifice but sacrifice, that is a devilish thing. If I do not perform the right sacrifice—then may the demons come here. In this manner, O Ayek and Alat, come to this spot here. Traitors shall we be to the ancestral gods if we, the descendants, sacrifice in this (wrong) way. Thus we sacrifice (rightly) as is our duty. As our ancestors did—so do we honour (the gods) We, the living, set on this spot(bull's head) millet beer and[61].

61a. dartik rum pong
Dartik gods (both are supposed to be female and male messengers, who bring news to the priest who performs the sacrifice; they are familiar deities of the Lepchas)

ung fat ung glum rum pong sug ngag la bam
to the water and the flood goods, to them altogether I sacrifice now.

dō dö dzam bi dzam myong rum pong khing tzung darmit rum pong
Our own life-spirits and soul gods, god of life's destiny, Darmit,

ayek alat rum pong dzö bön pu rum pong
gods of procreation, Ayek and Alat, gods as benefactors of the soul,

ong bon pu rum pong djü la mat mong
the gods who lend the strength of life ; if I know how to sacrifice, so

sug yu gong nön dö dö khing tzung go nöng sug ma yön gong
I must do it. The god of my personal destiny knows it ; if I do not

nōn dö dö a rö a riom plö cho djü la nag yö
sacrifice, then may a long illness come, come. But if I do know

gong la rum göm
how to perform the right sacrifice, then is that a godly thing.

djö la sug ma yö nōng gong na mung göm
But if I do not know how to perform the right sacrifice that is a demonish thing.

dō dö sug la ma yöng gong na mung ni gom
If I do not perform the right sacrifice, then shall the demon be here.

a lom sog döm ga ayek alat plö
In this way and at this place Ayek and Alat come here !

nyö ting sa rum göm go yu gab djong
We shall not become traitors to the ancestral gods, if we,

ati adzo nong ga su gad shö bu sa yuk
the descendants, sacrifice in this way. It is our duty to sacrifice thus.

niö thing ga sing long fat sa yuk gom
As our ancestors did, so we also do honour in this way.

go yu son nin sog döm ga chi log so log mat nön.
We, the living, set on this spot (head of the bull) millet beer and rice-offering..

rice-offerings. Thus we sacrifice. As our ancestors in ancient times did—so do we now. We do not know how to speak in this world; but we have arranged the sacrifice. As this world's life-spirit we, creatures, hold the branches of the Na sö and Na ling trees. We, the sons of Bong-thing, the Bong-thing sons of fire, hold them in our hands. That is the place to carry the Na sö and Na ling branches which I take consciously. Now I swear an oath to Ta she tak bo thing. Therefore I push a stone into the earth and I plant a beautifully decorated bamboo in the earth (as witnesses of the oath). In this place I take the oath. I do it in our own interest. Today, in this very place I take the oath. The paths of the demons are barred. Through the wonderful powers of Ta she tak bo thing I offer this sacrifice. Henceforward we offer a compensation, a bodily substitute. Send no more suffering to this person."[61b]

[61b] Fat bam a re a thing a niö sa dal thing gung dö si ayit
Thus we sacrifice. As our ancestor did since ancient times,
plö nöng sug bam
so we also perform the sacrifice.
sog döm lyang ga go yusöng dön ma kön go yu rum
In this world we do not know how we should speak. We have arranged
tek so sog
the sacrifice (rum, god, has also the meaning of sacrifice). As this
döm löng ming tang ga son chio nin cho sa liang ga na sö na ling
world's life spirit we, creatures, hold here branches of the Na sö and Na ling
nom bong thing köb
trees (similar to the Nepalese Panisage and Sau tree). We, Bong-thing sons,

bong thing la mi köb nöng ga sog döm ga
we, Bong-thing sons of fire, hold them in our hands. Here in this place carrying
na sö na ling nom bö nöng go tzam nöng ga.
the Na sö na ling branches, I take hold of them consciously.
ta she tak bo thing riak to long tzog.
To Ta she tak bo thing I swear an oath. I push a stone into the earth.
bu tzum bu yak to nön
I plant a beautifully decorated bamboo in the earth. (This ceremony takes place at the swearing and oath taking, so that the oath is sworn over the stone and the bamboo, which are placed side by side.)
sog döm riak to sön tön do ga
Here in this place I take the oath. In our own interest I do it.
sa rong sa ni riak are to nön sog döm ga
Just today I take the oath here. Thus here in this place
mung sa lom chat are tak bo she thing sa
the demons' ways are barred. Now through Tak bo she things' wonder-
a dyän sa löm nöng to Along ren me sü löm
powers, I bring this sacrifice. From now on, a bodily substitute, a
sa lö löm bo son areka gi dök ma bin
compensation we give. Send no more suffering to this person."

The ceremonies are the same as those described above. Each Bong-thing has his own texts. The general scheme is, however, the same. Emphasis is always laid on the claim that they are based on the old traditions. The following text proves this in a particular manner :

"The genesis of Chi, the genesis of the intoxicating drink Dyö. This arose from an old tradition. The place of origin is where the Sang li and Sang log trees originated. In the interest of the whole world and for our use, O messenger of God, come hither. Tak bo thing, the wonder-power-god, came down for the creation of the world. Now again come down for the creation of the world. Like the tradition of the Rong, the tradition of the sons of Bong-thing came in place of the Bamboo books. It is the custom of the ten Rong sons to make a synopsis of the tradition of the creation of the earth, of the water, and of the whole world.[62] The world of the

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[62] "Fiang it dyö it
Chi's genesis, Dyö's intoxication genesis ! (fiang is millet beer, and is looked on as female ; dyö is an intoxicating drink, made from a substance different than millet, and is looked on as a male).

lung tän o ba nang plö sang li sang log cho sa lyang ga plö
This arose from an old tradition. The place of origin is where the Sang li

Sang log pair of trees originated ! (Several holy trees are known. Na-sö and Na-ling were already mentioned. Two others are called Mong-chial and Sö-brio. They make three bundles of branches from these trees. One is planted in front of the altar. The Mun or Bong-thing holds the two others in his hands when he wishes to prophesy. These holy trees are expressly created and handed to men by God for ritual purposes. This is an analogy of the tree of the world).

sog döm tam ga son sa dän dog ga rum fig rum plö
In the interest of the whole world and for our use, messenger of God come here! (fig rum is tne messenger or servant of God).

Tak bo thing sa a dyän rum lyang it ga da mu
Tak bo thing, wonder-power-god, came down for the creation of the world.

lyang it ga da rong sa lung tän
For the creation of the world come down here. As the Rong tradition, the

bong thing kob sa po mik po thong chio sa lung tän plö
Bong-thing sons' tradition, came in place of the bamboo books. The synopsis

lyang it ung it yang ming yang song
of the tradition of the creation of the earth, of the creation of water, of the creation of the whole world

demons also exists here. The Mung give, in truth, a loving and adequate blessing to all. According to the origin of the tradition of our ancestors, our grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and great-great-grandchildren must perfectly act. Then only shall we be blessed. If we fail to act in this manner it will bring us no good. The Dar gods will destroy the heart. But if we act in the manner prescribed, our ancient forbears, gods of destiny—the Darmit—will prepare an abundance of good things. If we do not know how to act in the right manner, the God of heaven, Sa kyu rum, will always be angry at heart. If the God of heaven, Sa kyu rum, is pleased always, the heart will always find joy. The Primeval God, the God of abundance, will himself give us the joy. The god, Fat dzag yö sa fi, will be pleased always. If all of us, creatures, perform the adoration through sacrifice, we shall obtain the rich rewards of the sacrifice. If the God of heaven, the God of abundance, is honoured by sacrifice we shall be given a house.[62a]

[62a] to pong sa lung tän rong köb ga ti sa tim bam mung sa sog
is the custom of the ten Rong sons. The world of the demons
döm are ga bam mung ka tön sö pe tyo
also exists here. The Mung give, in truth, loving and
gön ga tag göng sa mön lam ma tong dö do abu amu sa lung tän plo
adequate blessing to all. As our ancestors' tradition
nong sa ga yu sön nin köb song ni tönön sug lang bam sö lang bam
originated thus, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, great-great-grandchildren
must act accordingly, and indeed perfectly act.
go yu chin lob top chio. sug ma gön na log non
Then shall we receive blessings. If we do not act so it will be bad.
rum dar pong la söm dyu chogu yu sug lang bam dö do niu thing sa yo
The Dar gods will kill the heart. If we act so, our ancient ancestors'
king tzum darmit rum pong la ayot ni chio go yu sug ma
gods of destiny, the Darmit, will prepare abundance. If we do not
gön gong na da lyang sa kyu rum
know how to act accordingly the God of heaven, Sa kyu rum,
na la süm kio cho da lyang sa kyu rum
will always have an angry heart. If the God of heaven, Sa kyu rum,
na la go gong sum riu cho ayot rum
is always pleased, the heart will be happy. The God of abundance,
pum rum hö do nöm chio. fat dzag yö sa fi rum na la go hio
the Primeval God himself will give it. Fat dzag yö sa fi god will always be pleased.
go yu sog döm ga son min nöng fat yu gong na
If we all in this world, if we creatures perform the adoration through sacrifice,
fat sa ayot top chio
then shall we obtain the riches of the sacrifice.
Chiö rum ayot ayit rum fat yu gong
If the God of heaven, the God of abundance, is honoured through sacrifice
li top chio dö do niot myu sug gang
then shall we obtain a house. If we accomplish much work in our fields

If we accomplish a great amount of work in our fields we shall obtain an abundance of things. Darmit (god) will always grant us a happy destiny. If the lines in our foot and palms are worn out through much work, we shall obtain an abundance of things. If you do not understand how to work, you will not obtain the fruits of blessing. We honour Dar by an adoration of God. I shall perform this work until I sweat blood. Thus I work. A handful, a finger-tip-ful of the sacrifice is offered to the gods of procreation in the other life. Take it, O God, as many sacrifices. These are the fruits of the earth. All people together offer rice. When we sacrifice, many should do it together. That is the right way. God will then be at peace. But if we do not do it, then the gods of procreation will be displeased with us. We, living this life, must eat and work. If we do not work, God will not love us. The Primeval God himself says that we should go at the right time.[62b]

[62b] ayot top chio dö do king tzum darmit na la go chio
we shall obtain abundance. A good fate, Darmit god will always grant us.

dyang dzum gö dzum säd dyet sug gan sa ayot top chio
If our foot and hand-lines are all worn out through much works, we shall obtain abundance.

sug ma gön na mong gong nö chiu
If you do not understand how to work you will not obtain

lop apot ma top na rum sa chiong dar sö chiong
the fruits of blessings. As adoration of God we honour Dar.

niot sug vi oi flet nöng ga sug bö nang yug sug
I will do this work till I sweat blood. Thus I work.

mö tzö a ping ga ayek rum ga go ri go chion dza
In the other life to the gods of procreation, a handful, a fingertipful

apöt rum ga blad nom pö tat chio
of the sacrifice is offered. God, take it as many sacrifices.

apot sog dam are ga bam mang sa min de pö nöng
The fruits of this earth are of this kind. All people together offer rice.

sa kö töng sa sug lang adyap do sug gad gang na
When we sacrifice, then many should do it together. Then is it right.

rum na la ago ni chio sug ma gön na
For God it will then be peace. If we do not do it, then will the

ayek alat rum na la ga yum hium non ne. tzö are ga bam ba sug la yo sam
gods of procreation be displeased with us. We, living in this life,

la yong gad chio sug la ma yu na gang la rum na la
must work and eat. If we do not work, then God will

a go ma mad ni rum pum thing hö do sa dön ga löd nan chiong ta tzäd djö
never love us. The Primeval God himself says that we should go at the right time.

But we fail to understand it. We are naked at the time of our birth. Now too we are naked. When time will cease for us, the time of our death, it is impossible to say. We cannot give any news of the land of the gods. And at the time God calls us, mother and father cannot call us back. When the day of death is at hand, neither elder brothers, sisters, children nor daughters-in-law can call us back. When the day of the Lord dawns, then indeed has death passed away."[62c] The sacrificial texts quoted give us an idea of their vast varieties.

(*i*) OTHER SACRIFICES

Although the Mun and the Bong-thing wield such a great influence over and dominate the whole sacrificial organisation, there are all the same, some sacrifices which do not come within their sphere.

An old Lepcha said to us, "For our original sacrifice we, the Rong folk, offer the intoxicating drink Chi, in a wooden vessel together with rice and small dried birds on a banana leaf-plate. The Chi had to be prepared by a young girl who was still a virgin. The little birds had to be shot by a young ad who had had no sexual relations with anyone. The

[62c] go yu ma dyak ne djek go rung a gün do
But we do not understand it. At the time of our birth we are naked,

djek lo tang ka tzäd ga la a gün lo tang gäm
at present time we are also naked. When our time is over

amäx sa sut de dön ma gön
to tell the time of our death, that is not possible.

rum lyang sa sut ma gön
To give news of the land of the gods is not possible.

rum nöng lo lek dö tzäd ga abu amu lin ma gön chiang chia
At the time when God calls us, father and mother cannot call us.

pe plö lad chiang gam anam anom aköb ason
When the day of death is coming, elder brothers, elder sisters, children and

nyom li ma top sag ni rum sa sag ni tag nam che lat non
daughter-in-law can no longer call us. When the day of God is coming, then is death passing away."

sacrifice is called Rum-fat or Lyang-rum-fat. It is performed once a year in honour of Rum or Pum-thing-rum somewhere in December or January. The flesh of the little birds can be dispensed with at this sacrifice, but the rice and Chi are essential. Generally it is the master of the house who is also the family priest who performs the sacrifice, but it can be performed by anyone who understands the rites."[63]

Sam-sing from Maria-Basti has described to us the hunter's sacrifice in the following terms : "The Supreme God whom we honour originally was called Assal. We do not know any more where he lives, and so each tribe honours its own god of the hunters. In the Yok-song-mo tribe to which I belong we practise the cult of the Mut. For this we keep cocks. Whenever we go out a-hunting we take a cock and present it to the god of the hunters. After the hunt the cock is killed and sacrificed to the god, and its flesh is consumed by us.

A part of the game killed at every hunt has to be offered to Mut. We cut little pieces from each part of the body of the animal wrap them up in leaves and offer them up to the god. After the sacrifice has been offered we eat the meat ourselves. No woman is ever allowed to be present at the sacrifice to Mut." Another member of theRong tribe called this god of the hunters by the name of Dju-thing. He honours him in the manner described above. He also stressed the fact that a woman is never allowed to take part in, nor even to look on, this sacrifice to the hunting god.

Gorer describes a sacrifice which all hunters offer together in the month of October, *viz.* the sacrifice to Mut-rum-Tseu or Pong-rum, the protector of wild animals and patron of hunters. The wife of this god is called Shing-rum. The sacrifice consists of roasted corn, chi, dried fish and birds, ginger, arum roots and a few other tubers, sugar-cane, banana, and worm-wood flowers. No woman is allowed to know what is being prepared. She is not allowed to come near. The presence of a woman who is having her menstrual period is regarded as particularly dangerous. Chi must be prepared by a virgin or she should at least pour it into a vessel. The birds must be procured by a chaste youth. If a deer has been killed, then it is imperative that a sacrifice to the hunting god must be performed. The animal is already carved up in the forest. To quote Gorer : "Big leaves are cut and put on the ground and then the animal is divided up and the head is put in front with a foreleg and third leg on either side and singed intestines in the middle. This is all offered to Pong-rum, and the hunter crouching behind and speaking very softly and slowly, gently throws the burnt intestines bit by bit over the animal's head. On his return to the village great care must be taken to see that no woman sees the animal's head ; if she does, the hunter will have no success in future."[64]

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[63] Report from Kalimpong.

The sacrifice of the hunters are a replica of the primitive sacrificial ceremonies. There is, however, a new element which comes to the forefront in the present sacrifices, *viz.* the strict exclusion of all women ;—the women may not even be spectators, or even so much as see the head of the animal which has been killed and which is to serve as a victim at the sacrifice. The virginity of the youth and the maiden who prepare the sacrificial materials, is strongly emphasised. Such hunting sacrifices are well known among many primitive tribes in India, *e.g.* among the Irulas, Kurumbas, etc.

The Rong believe that the bow and arrow which they require for hunting are given to them by the deity, and that even the game is, so to say, given over to them by the deity. This enables us to get a better idea of the sacrifice to the god of the hunters. One of the legends recorded by Stocks runs as follows, "Once upon a time Tashey-thing made friends with Mon-tsu-mot, a wild she-boar whom he married and with whom he lived happily for ten years. Not far away from their home was a great rock hanging over a precipice where a rock bee (vot) had its hive, and Tashey-thing wished to bring the honey home one day himself. It was a very dangerous task to reach the rock even with the aid of a rope ; and Tashey-thing, being helped by many animals and insects, made them all swear to hold the rope firmly and not to let it go. But his wife Mon-tsu-mot was not faithful, and wished to get rid of Tashey-thing.

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[64] op. cit. p. 244 sq.

Koeng was one of the beetle rope holders, for it was the time of the year when he lives and sings for three months; the bak-dyol was another beetle who also comes out at this time, whilst the dyang-dyang (another beetle) was also alive, so he came too. So did Neprik-nyom, the grass-hopper and lots of other insects—all helped Tashey-thing who started climbing down the rope.

But almost immediately Mon-tsu-mot cut it, and all the animals and insects became so frightened that they ran away at once. Tashey-thing saved himself by holding on to the rock with one of the hairs from his moustache, and we Rong folk believe to this day that leaves from the bush we find hanging down from fry rocks, which has a grey colour like the tint of the thatching grass, and which is soft like hair, originates from the one hair that saved his life. He was wondering how he would release himself from his peril when a monkey happened to pass, who asked him what he was doing.

Tashey-thing told him he had come down to take some honey from the rock, but his wife, Mon-tsu-mot, with some animals and insects who had promised to help him, had played a nasty trick and cut the rope they had been holding.

So the monkey took him off the rock, and putting him on his back, told him he was to keep his eyes closed until he knew by the sound that he, the monkey, was walking; he was on no account to open them especially when they were rustling through the leaves.

Now when Tashey-thing was put down in a safe place, he told the monkey for a reward he would give him gold, silver or anything he asked for. But the monkey did not want gold or silver. 'Give me,' he said, 'a blessing instead, that will help me to have the first fruits of every field in harvest time.'

And Tashey-thing gave him the blessing.

But he cursed the rock bees, saying much trouble had come to him through them, and that it would be no sin for the Rong folk to take their honey away in future.

Then Tashey-thing planted a species of bamboo (the bling) and when it had grown big enough he made a bow from it, then he planted another bamboo (the pa-song) from which he made an arrow. Then for three years he followed the footprint of Mon-tsu-mot, and passing through nine countries and crossing nine ranges of mountains, he found the wild boar at last sleeping in a lair she had made from dry leaves. Then he aimed with his arrow and killing her, he collected firewood and commenced to burn her. Whilst he was roasting her, some hot fat fell from her body, and a drop falling on his thumb made him lick it off.

Then he cursed all wild boars, saying it would be no sin henceforth if the Rong folk were to kill and eat them. So we, the Rong folk, believe from that day, we can eat the flesh of the wild boar, which we never did formerly when she was Tashey-thing's wife. It was also then that the bow and arrow were invented.

Then being a widower, Tashey-thing married Gnyul-chul who was a fish, and said once as they came to a river he would carry her across on his back. Gnyul-chul did not like the idea and told Tashey-thing he ought to make a bridge. He made a bamboo one and just as they were nearly across, knowing she would annoy him, Gnyul-chul tumbled off his back and dropped in.

Then Tashey-thing became angry, and running downstream he placed a bamboo fishing net (a yet) in the middle of the river. Catching her on the third day, he found that the arms and legs of Gnyul-chul had become fins, whilst the rest of her body was still that of a woman.

The moment Tashey-thing had caught her he made a fire and burnt her. Some fat fell from her body, and dropped on his thumb which he licked off, and he cursed fish saying that from that day it would be no sin for a human being to kill and eat them. So we, the Rong folk, believe from that day we can catch and eat fish, which we did not do when a fish was the wife of Tashey-thing.

So he was once more a widower, and he blessed us the Rong folk and said we should be as abundant as the bushes and trees in the jungle, and that until the monkey died out there, we should not die out.

After blessing us, Tashey-thing returned once more to the country of the Rum (heaven)."[65]

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[65] Stocks, op. cit. p. 361 sq.

In another legend it is told how the bear was given to the Rong as game to be hunted. "One day the ancestor of the *ptso* was going through the forest when he came on what he thought was a dead bear ; but really this bear was an incarnation of Pong rum, the king of all animals and patron god of hunters who was at the moment taking a rest outside his incarnate body. The ancestor cut up the animal and ate part of it ; whereupon Pong rum appeared to him and said, 'You have eaten part of my body ; henceforward you and your children must serve me and worship me and make offerings to me. Henceforward also you and your children may eat all animals, even snakes, with impunity.' This is the reason why the people of Pantoong could eat and enjoy snakes, whereas the rest of us would die if we ate them."[66] From these legends it appears clearly that the Supreme God, Ta-she-thing, gave to the Rong folk wild boar, bear, fish and honey as food and taught them to use bow and arrows, to shoot the game, and to catch fish with the net.

It has already been mentioned above that Pong rum, the god of the hunters, goes by different names depending on whether he drives towards the hunters, the game from the slopes of the highest mountains, or from the foot of the mountains or the plains. It appears also that these animals are looked upon as manifestations of the deity. The following story, related to us by the son of the A-chi Bong-thing who hails from a famous hunting family, lends support to this theory. "We were hunting in the thick virgin forests at the foot of the mountains at the beginning of the plains. Suddenly I came across an enormous bull with mighty horns. The bull was asleep ; yet, the sight of this gigantic animal so terrified me that I staggered, as one drunk, to the ground and felt as if my soul had left my body. That could only be the hunting god and it was useless to shoot, as he was proof against wounds. The bull awoke, stood erect, and with a thunderous bellowing drove the cows and calves further into the forest. We withdrew as quickly as we could and fled for safety." The hunters call the Mithan Sa-dzug-big in the Lepcha language. They say that he usually lives in the higher mountains as far as the

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[66] Gorer, op. cit. p. 56.

Tibetan frontier, but in the winter he descends into the plains. He is very difficult to hunt because he is the largest of cattle, bigger even than the Tibetan Yak, which they name Yok (clearly a rendering of the Tibetan name). They have never seen a wild yak, and so are unable to compare its size. Unfortunately for me I did not succeed in seeing a Sa-dzug-big, but I obtained sufficient information to establish the difference between the Mithan, Gaur, Gayal—a question which is very confused.

Great confusion is caused by the change and interchange of names. In North India we find the wild cattle called the Gaur. The Gaur (*Bos gaurus*) is an enormous animal which sometimes attains a height of 21 hands. The upper part of its neck is cylinder-shaped. The forehead is deeply concave. There is no dewlap. The horns are regularly poised and bend inwards at the end. But the sharpest curve is not at the end. The colour of the adult animal, especially the old bull, is deep brown, practically black. The Gaur has been erroneously called the bison. The very same description given by us above was given also in the case of the Mithan. The Gaur only inhabits the mountains and hilly countries and cannot be tamed. The Mithan is also a mountain animal and is very difficult to handle in captivity. The inhabitants of Sikkim say that the Mithan cannot be tamed, but that the wild bulls do mate with the domesticated cows. The mixed offspring are then tamed. In the second and later generations there is a very marked difference from the wild ancestry. The greatest height is only 17 hands and the dewlap is developed. The horns are no longer regularly poised, nor are they curved inwards ;—the greatest distance between the horns being now at the points. Even the colour is no longer identical.

Let us now explain why a confusion prevails over the names. The wild cattle in the Himalayas are called Mithan in Nepalese, and Sa-dzug-big in the Lepcha language. The natives say that the wild bulls cannot be tamed, but that they do mate with the domesticated cows. This intermixed breed is called Paluwa-Mithan in Nepalese, and Pamen in Lepcha. The ordinary cattle are called Siri-gay in Nepalese and Niu-big in Lepcha. The cross between these animals and the very small Nepalese cattle is called Pahare-gay in Nepalese and Nam-tha in Lepcha. The Tibetan Yak is called Tschangri-gay in Nepalese, and Yok-big in Lepcha. The water buffalo is Arna in Nepalese and Nin-big in Lepcha. The names Gaur and Gayal, as we see, do not appear.

The Mithan sacrifice and cult play a very important part in the religious sphere of the Nagas. The Sema Nagas call the wild Mithan "aviela," the cross of this wild cattle with the domesticated cattle is "avi"; the cross of avi achuka (black humped cattle) is aselhu, the cross Avi with Kolaghu (ordinary cattle) is avyega or vivghu.

In the Chongli (C) and Mongsen (M) dialect of the Ao Naga, cross of the wild bull and the cow is called sü and atsü (M); the ordinary cow nashi (C) and masü (M); the progeny of the above cross and the ordinary cow mukza (C & M).[67] We suppose that all the natives have such special names and that they certainly draw a distinction between the different varieties of animals. The confusion arose from the fact that the Europeans and Indians regarded the Mithan and Gayal as one (*Bos frontalis*). The wild Mithan and the Gaur are different local variations of the same animal. Apart from this, it is clear that the two different wild breeds do not overlap each other in their geographical distribution. This would have been the case if the Mithan and Gaur were two different species of wild cattle. East of the Bay of Bengal the Banteng (*Bos sondaicus*) appears as a new breed.[68]

The names Gaur and Gayal originate from Hindi. The Sanskrit root "go" means bull and cow; and gavah, the plural, cattle. The modern Hindi name is derived from these: gay and gau, cow; gava, wild cattle, from which gaur is derived; gavya and gayaval—"that which appertains to the cow." Gayal is then derived from gayaval, as the bastard is not the ordinary type of cattle but is associated with the cow.

[67] J. P. Mills, The Ao Nagas, London 1926, p. 132 sq.

[68] E. C. Baker, The Gaur and the Gayal, (Bos gaurus and bos frontalis), The Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society, Vol. xv, 227 sq., T. R. Livesey, The Gayal or Mithan (Bos frontalis), id. Vol. p. 199 sq., W. S. Thom, Some notes on Bison (Bos gaurus) in Burma, id. Vol. p. 106 sq., W. T. Blankfort, On the Gaur (Bos gaurus) and its allies, from the Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London, Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society, Vol. VI, 1891, 222, seq., M. Hermanns, Were animals first domesticated and bred in India? Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXVII, Pt.11, 1952, p. 134 sq.

Gaval and Arna are the Hindi names for the water-buffalo. In Bombay State, as far as the Central Provinces the name Ran bhainsa, water buffalo, is used for Gaur. In Mahrathi, it is pronounced gavya ; in Tamil, katuerimai ; in Malayalam, karthu ; in Kanarese, kar-kona.[69]

The wild Gaur and the Mithan cannot be tamed. The Gayal, which is wrongly called the Mithan, has no wild ancestor, but is only a cross between the wild bull and the domesticated cow. A clear proof of the mongrel characteristics of the Gayal is this : In districts where the Gaur are numerous and therefore more frequently mate with the domestic cows, the Gayal shows some resemblance to the Gaur, —the massive build with high backbone, etc. Through the constant adding of wild blood this characteristic is preserved, *e.g.* in the upper mountains of Assam. In districts where the Gaur are rare as for instance in the Chin hills, the build of the mongrel is smaller, the ridge at the back disappears, the dewlap grows larger and the horns more like those of the cows. By the fourth generation the maternal component of the ordinary cattle is again quite dominant.[70] In these circumstances one should no longer look for the wild ancestors of the Gayal.

There is also a species of animals which the Rong do not kill, *viz.* the wild dog which is reddish in colour. Nor are they allowed to eat the flesh of tame dogs and horses. In this respect they are on par with the Tibetans.

There are legends pertaining to other curious creatures which are supposed to live in the thick virgin forests. Bön-män-che is the Nepalese name ; a "Wild man" who is said to be about as large as a great monkey. The Lepcha name for this creature is Sog-pa. Another being is the Bön-sacri, the "Wild magician." This creature is believed to kidnap the children of men and lead them away into the depths of the forest, where it instructs them in the arts of magic and makes them so accustomed to the wild forest life that they shun the company of men. The wives of the Bön-sacri are the Lidini, the "Wild wives." The Rong hunter must be proof against the attacks of all these beings, and so he pays tribute to and renders homage to the god of the hunters in order that he may obtain his protection.

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[69] S. H. Prater, Indian Animals, Bombay, p. 204.

[70] S. H. Prater, op. cit. p. 201 sq.

The following sacrifices which are associated with agriculture and the harvest are of a completely different type. We have already had occasion to mention Se-dyu, the goddess of farming. She elects women only and passes on from mother to daughter. The women perform sacrifices in her honour at least twice a year—before the sowing in the springtime and after the harvest in autumn.

The pig and the cock serve as sacrificial victims. For this sacrifice the pig comes first in the order of preference, while in the ceremonies described above we have seen that the bull is given the special preference. The understanding of this factor helps to dispel the apparent contradiction that exists in the opposing claims of some Lepchas who maintain that the pig is the most valued of all animals and others who assert that the cattle are the most valued. It all depends on the type of sacrifice which is being offered at a particular moment. In the very early days they did not employ cattle to plough with ; cattle were harnessed very much later. The sacrifice is performed inside the house in a corner. The man can be present if a woman performs the sacrifice, and the man can even perform the sacrifice when the woman is, for some reason, prevented from performing it.

Apart from these private sacrifices to the god of agriculture, there are also ceremonies performed at festivals and solemnised by all. There are spring and autumn sacrifices. These are associated with the ancestors of Mayal, who as we saw earlier, provided mankind with the first seeds, and instructed them about the manner of cultivation. "The people of Mayal are worshipped exclusively in connection with the crops of rice, millet and maize ; on all other occasions they are markedly excluded from the long list of supernaturals who are called on to partake of the sacrifices and give their blessings. Everybody must worship them on two occasions, after the completion of the sowing and at the harvesting of the dry rice ; in these houses where there is a Mun or a knowledgeable old man, they are also prayed to in the winter to keep away snow and hail, in the spring to protect young crops and after the sowing of each of their grains, they are offered sakyoufaat to ensure a good harvest.

Only the three crops are connected with the people of Mayal ; the others come from different supernaturals, barley, wheat, buckwheat, and wet rice come from Kongen-bu, the god of Kinchenjunga, a Sikkimese deity ; no important ceremonies are connected with these crops. Cardamum, as has already been said, comes from Nepal and is under the patronage of the foreign Elaiji-nyou, who dislikes women, in particular menstruating women. The people of Mayal are said to share this dislike and should a menstruating woman visit them there would be the terrible result that all the people of Mayal would fall asleep and would not send the migratory birds."[71]

The spring sacrifice is simple. The autumn sacrifice on the contrary is very copious. For this an old experienced man is elected to represent the ancestors of Mayal and he is called Mayal-mu. A woman is selected to represent the Talyeu-mu, the sister earth. When the ceremony cannot be completed on the same day, those taking part in it stay with each other for the night. There is free intercourse between the sexes ; however, the comprehensive ban on incestual relations is not broken. This recalls the sexual freedom which is indulged in at the festivals of Spring and Autumn among many Asiatic peoples and which we observed in the Tibeto-Chinese province Tsing-hai among Chinese, Tujen Tibetans, etc. The representation of ancestors and agricultural spirits by masquerading in their guise is again a well-known custom among Asiatic primitives usually connected with the New Year festivals. Thus the sacrifices of the hunters and of the cultivators stand out in sharp contrast with each other.

The Lepcha, Suliman, gave us informatin about another family sacrifice to the Supreme God, Ta-she-thing. Anyone who knows the rites may perform it, whether it be a man or a woman. The one who performs it must fast for three days before the ceremony, *i.e.* he must not eat the chief meal of rice but he can eat the other dishes. During this time he must take three baths. The bathing place is prepared near the river. The bath consists of a complete immersion. After the last bath he comes into the house to perform the sacrifice.

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[71] Gorer, op. cit. 238 sq.

An altar about 80 centimetres high is erected, and bananas and roots which serve as offerings are placed on it. Flowers are placed on either side. This sacrifice takes place in September. Many people assemble for it, and they later partake of food and millet beer.

One kind of sacrifice consists simply of the action of the man, who before drinking either millet beer or tea, sprinkles some drops with his fingers.[72]

(j) PARALLELS TO THE MYTHS AND THE RITUAL OF THE RONG

The intoxicating drink plays an important part in all the sacrifices offered by the Rong. One kind is Chi, a brew of millet. The second is Dyö, an alcoholic drink, which is made not of millet but of different components. In all the sacrificial texts and rites a special importance is attached to this stimulant. As the text indicates, there is an individual deity personifying the intoxicating drink, *viz.* Dön-dyö-chi-log, who is also represented among the Tormas and is rendered the same homage as the Supreme God and his family. This intoxicating drink according to the tradition of the Rong is of heavenly origin. Tradition has it that at the very outset the ferment used in the manufacture of the intoxicant was brought to mankind from the other side of the world in a cunning manner by a special messenger. Immortality, too, is linked up with this drink. Birds have a special part to play in connection with both these drinks. The quail is considered to have performed the Chi sacrifice after the deluge. Two birds are said to have fetched the drink of immortality from the land of the gods. Then a two-fold effect which causes merriment is described. When the snakes drank Chi, they went mad. To quote Stocks, "You have stolen my ferment, if you only know how to use it, you would be able to offer the 'chi' to the Rum, but now you will find that it always excites you, it will cause you all to quarrel, it may even perhaps kill you.

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[72] Cfr. op. cit. p. 246.

But the wasp started to make 'chi' as he brought the ferment back, and all the Rum came but none dared taste it, as they did not know what would happen to the first one who drank.

Then the pa-vin-bu volunteered to try it first (and he is the snake who springs from trees). As soon as he had drunk a little, he became mad, and commenced to fly, and some of his friends went to look after him. They found however that he was not dying, and another snake—one that is black, the pa-mol-bu, drank and also became mad. He went into a cave and some of his friends went in to look after him but they found he was only snoring.

Then a third snake—one that is poisonous, the pa-hlyok-bu, volunteered. He drank the 'chi' and went away vomiting, and ever since that day he is more poisonous.

Then a fourth offered to taste it—the horned one that has a red head and a black body (tik). She had some and only ran away drunken.

After that there came another snake—the pa-zyob-bu, who only lives in the hills—and when he had gone everyone thought they might try as the poison had by now all gone."[73]

For the snakes or demons, this drink has deleterious effects ; for the gods however it is a refreshing drink. Through the Chi sacrifice, *i.e.* through the enjoyment of the intoxicating drink, they become softened and quiet. To cite an instance: the god in his rage made the flood come down; then softened through the sacrifice of Chi, he let the waters abate. In the traditions of the Rong we do not come across evidences of a god who becomes exhilarated through drinking of the love-potion, as is the case with Indra on drinking Soma.

The magicians work themselves into a frenzy by partaking of Chi, in order to reach a state of ecstasy. The Chi sacrifice is most closely connected with the bull, and is performed on the head of the animal. The sacrificial vessel containing the drink must always be decorated with three little pats of butter.

The Chi sacrifice has an entirely original and individual character and is closely bound up with the life and the ritual of the Rong. It belongs therefore to their old ancestral estate, and is not borrowed from other peoples.

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[73] Stocks, op. cit. p. 353.

In the Soma-Haoma sacrifices of the Indians and the Iranians, we find striking parallels. "The conception of a stimulating drink of the gods appears to go back to the Indo-European times. The drink which manifests secret, ecstatic, and exciting power to men, must be an essence of the gods, and a special possession of the gods...The dwelling place of this drink of the gods appears to have been heaven according to Indo-European beliefs....From its heavenly storage place, the bird of the god, or the god himself in the guise of a bird, fetched or stole it from the jealously watching demons ; the eagle of Indra; the nectar carrying eagle of Zeus; Odin who as an eagle carried away mead....Finally it may perhaps be accepted, that the conception of godlike immortality is already connected at the time of the Indo-Europeans with the drink of the gods (Amrta, Ambrosia). As human life is preserved by taking meat and drink and specially death is warded off for a time, at least by medicine, so must the godly existence also depend on the partaking of a drink whose essence is immortality."[74]

The sacrifice as the nourishment of the gods is known to the Rong. "Then Tashey-takbo-thing wished to make his first sacrifice to the Rum and called the ngo and the ngo-yong....

At the offering time the hands and feet of the Tashey-takbo-hing quarrelled with his belly saying, 'We work very hard the whole time, but you, the belly, do nothing.' And the belly replying said, 'Very well then, as you believe that, for two or three days I shall really do nothing. I will rest and shall not eat anything.'

Then the hands became so weak they could do nothing, and were soon unable to move. And the belly said, 'If you find me something to eat, you will find you regain strength and vigour.' And as he ate a little the hands and feet regained strength, and they knew they were defeated. So they planted sugar-cane (mut pa-mam), pine-apples (bor-pot) and all kinds of fruit which grew abundantly.

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[74] H. Oldenberg, Die Religion des Veda, Stuttgart-Berlin 1917, p. 169 sq.

And Tashey-takbo-thing took a supply of all these fruits with many fish from the river and sacrificed them. This was the commencement of all offering."[75]

Thus among the Rong, as among the Indo-Iranians the stimulating drink, finally becomes a deity. "Further, the sacrificial drink filled with daemonic strength,—like the sacrificial fire—has become a mighty god."[76]

But Soma-Haoma is however most intimately bound up with cattle. "Soma is dressed in the cow robe—the admixture of milk in it."[76a] We noticed, among the Rong, the butter decoration on the bowl of Chi.

Significant also is the rite by which the Lepchas place the offering of Chi on the forehead of the bull, and so bind more closely together the cult of the stimulant with cattle. All the same both cults remain autonomous and independent. This is of special value as it throws more light on the old Indo-Iranian ritual and sacrifices. Some scholars today think it is possible to connect the following :

"The cult of the killing of the Soma in the form of little plant shoots in the Vedic sacrifice and the myth of the killing of the Haoma bull in the mythology of Mithra have a broad ethnological connection, and are the Aryan shaping of an ancient prehistorical mythology and cult....Now if Zarathustra repeatedly declaims with passion and holy anger against the slaughtering of bulls it is not, as has been maintained, for agricultural and utilitarian reasons, but because this ritual act formed the essential constituent part of the old religion. Now within the Soma sacrifice, the highest and most solemn sacrifice of the old Indians, it is clear that the offering of a gift to the gods was not the most essential thing, but the renewal of the original sacrifice of the gods. As the gods in heaven prepare the Soma rain for the good of the world, so does man in the holy ceremony prepare the drink of immortality which stands for rain as the source of life, in order to share in the blessing of the godlike original sacrifice and to make sure of it for himself. And for all the slaughtering of beasts and men, which

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[75] Stocks, op. cit. p. 356.
[76] H. Oldenberg, op. cit. p. 172.
[76a] op. cit. p. 175.

Jensen has reported, it is likewise evident, that they occurred as a repetition of that first killing, from which new life was engendered.

Thus it is clear then, that the slaughtering of cattle which Zarathustra again and again condemned, was the imitating and repeating of the indeed cruel, but—blessed killing of the original bull.

And in the closest connection with this, Zarathustra condemned in the same place the Haoma sacrifice, although, it is true he does not mention the name Haoma, but uses instead, an old unmistakable title of the Haoma.

This simultaneous mentioning of the Haoma endorses my opinion that with the words, 'the bull must be killed,' the sacrifice of the bull in the Mitra cult and its cosmic meaning are alluded to." This bull is said to be identical with Haoma.[77]

Very correctly does Lommel lay emphasis on the drawing of ethnological and prehistorical parallels for the explanation of the ritual. Our case is specially instructive for such an interpretation. The beliefs of the Rong and their rites prove beyond the shadow of doubt that the cult of the intoxicating drink and the cult of the bull are not identical, but are two altogether independent cults, and moreover that they are not the imitation of the original offering of the deity itself. Among the oldest ethnological tribes this mystification is not to be found ; but it is certainly so among the younger peoples especially among those with the peculiar mystery-religion. Others believe that the intoxicating Haoma has been supplanted by the milk-haoma which links with an old milk-mystery. The Mithra religion is Apolonic, sober, formalistic ; the Iranian Gatha-religion on the contrary, is Dionysiac, and is familiar with the Haoma delirium, with ecstacies, trances, and the wandering of souls in a state of trance.

Among the Indo-Iranians the Soma-Haoma sacrifice was performed in spring time for all the gods.[78] We have pointed out that exactly the same thing happens in the case of the Rong. The Bong-thing and the Mun, by partaking of

[77] H. Lommel, Mithra und das Stieropfer, in Paideum, Bd. III, H. 6/7, Juni 1949, p. 216 sq., p. 212.

[78] H. Oldenberg, op. cit. p. 449 sq.

Chi, rouse themselves into a state of ecstasy, and then began their dances and their soul-wanderings in a state of ecstasy.

A brief description of the manner in which the Rong prepare the intoxicating drink would not be out of place here. Chi is obtained from the small millet. The well-ripened grains are dried in the sun for three days, and then cooked in an earthenware pot which is covered over with a bamboo mat. A larger barrel is inverted over this. After the cooking, the ferment is added, and the fermentation begins. The fermented liquor is left in the sun for several days so that the alcoholic content may become stronger. Finally the grains are squeezed out and the chi-brew is thus obtained. The fermenting grains are then put into a bamboo barrel and warm water is poured over them. This water becomes slightly alcoholic and is sucked in through a little bamboo tube. The method of drinking beer through a little bamboo tube, in order to avoid the impure sediment, is a very old custom indeed, and had been practised by the Hitties. It is a universal practice among the Himalayan peoples.

The other type of alcoholic beverage, Dyö, is made from medicinal roots, herbs, or other fermentable plants. The preparation would depend on the material used in each case. The roots are soaked in warm water, the fermenting agent is added and the whole concoction allowed to ferment. After a few days the molasses is squeezed out. It seems that the preparation of the Soma was similar, but the secret of the extraction has been lost.

The home of the Soma plants is supposedly the high rocky mountains. "Soma on the rocks"[79]; the eagle robs Soma from the rocks.[80] It is "an inhabitant of the mountains," a "growth of the mountain world."[81] In one place the name for such a mountain is said to be Mujevat.[82] According to the Mahabharata (XIV) this was a mountain to the rear of the Himalayas. The plant was also a medicine and was called "Medicine for the sick."[83] The medicinal effect was so potent that it even brought about immortality.[84] The motif of "Medicine of Immortality" which is widely circulated through the whole of Asia is an effective argument in this case. According to this, Soma was a kind of medicinal plant which grew in the highest mountains.

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[79] Rigveda V, 85, 2.
[80] op. cit. I, 93, 6.
[81] X, 62, 4; XV, 9, 95, 4.
[82] X, 34. 1.
[83] Rigveda VIII, 72, 17.

In those early days, no Indo-Aryans lived in this mountain world. It is more probable that from the very early time they obtained medicinal roots and herbs from the inhabitants of the mountains. In the Atharvaveda it is said, "The young maid of the Kirati race, a young damsel, digs the drug ; digs it with shovels wrought of gold on the high ridges of the hills."[85] The Kirati however are a people related to the Tibetans, as we shall see later on, and their name is identical with the Rai as we have mentioned above. The expression "kirata-tikta" occurs in Sanskrit and means "A very bitter medicinal plant." The name is preserved in the Prakrit as Cilaa-itta or Ciraa-itta ; in Old-Bengal as Cirayita and in New-Bengal as Cirata or Cireta. It certainly means "Medicine of the Kirata."[86] The Soma plant and its juice were equally bitter. It is reported that the Kirati provided the Aryans with Soma plants. If they grew in the high Himalayan mountains there was certainly no other way of obtaining the plants except through the natives who had a knowledge of medicinal herbs.

It is naturally impossible to produce a commonly used popular drink from a rare plant which had to be transported from a great distance. Oldenberg raises the same question from an altogether different point of view, "Has Soma ever been a favourite drink in the daily life of the Aryans? I doubt it...In the Veda, Soma certainly was not a favourite drink, and it seems to me that the Avestic sources also teach this. The real intoxicating drink in the ordinary life of the ancient Indian peoples was sura...

Sura was put to sacred use at the ceremonies of the Sautramani as also of the Vajaya."[87] Even the Soma sacrifices were not numerous, or greater quantities of Soma plants would have been used. "Only for a few, the celebrations of the Soma sacrifice could have been possible ; where it was celebrated it could only have had for the masses of the people at most, the character of an incomprehensible play which they watched ; the functions leaving the onlookers unmoved."[88] A drink so easily obtained and in general use, would not have so easily been linked with the "Drink of Immortality."

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[84] op. cit. I, 91, 6 ; VIII, 48, 3 ; IX, 113, 8.

[85] S. K. Chatterji, Kirata-Jana-Krti, Journal R. A. S. B. Vol. XVI, 1950. No. 2. p. 162.

[86] op. cit. p. 163.

[87] H. Oldenberg, op. cit. p. 366.

The Soma plants were ground down according to primitive methods on a stone plate by means of a stone, and later crushed in a stone mortar.[89] Then the juice was squeezed out. This juice was of a brownish, reddish, or greeny-yellowish colour. To purify this juice it was run through a strainer made of sheep's wool.[90] The Iranians used a strainer made of hair from the holy white bull. During the process three priests chant a monotonous hymn. The juice was very frequently mixed with water, milk or sour milk.[91]

It was poured back and forth into different barrels. All the manipulations would certainly cause the fermentation of the juice, as it did have an intoxicating effect.[92]

All this goes to show that Soma was quite a rare intoxicating drink. The ordinary intoxicant of the ancient Indians was Sura, which was also used for the purpose of the sacrifice. Here, too, we have an exact parallel with the Lepchas;—millet beer, Chi, is the ordinary stimulant which is generally used for the sacrificial purpose as it is easily obtained. Dyö is made from medicinal roots and is of a brownish colour. The alcohol content is high like some of our modern liqueurs. Because of the rarity of the roots, Dyö is not often manufactured and is less frequently used in sacrifices. Soma must have been extracted from some similar medicinal root. The Himalayan peoples gave it to the Aryans and handed over to them the recipe for making it.

This of course does not prove that the sacrifice of the intoxicating drink was introduced by the Aryans in this manner.

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[88] op. cit. p. 449 sq.

[89] Rigveda IX, 67, 19, 107, 10 ; I, 28, 1-3.

[90] Rigveda IX. 69, 9.

[91] Rigveda VII. 3, 6.

[92] Cfr. H. Oldenberg, op. cit. p. 457 sq., S. K. Godivala, Indo-Iranian Religion, Bombay, 1925, p. 5. sq.

"The idea of the stimulating drink of the gods appears to go back to Indo-European times."[93] There it was the old honey mead. Instead of mead the Aryans used Soma when they settled in India which they came to know through the Himalayan peoples, among whom intoxicating drinks had a similar significance.

The present day customs and practices of the Lepchas are a commentary on the old customs. Among all the Southern Himalayan peoples the Lepchas, as far as we could see, were the only ones who have knowledge of the plant and know the art of making the intoxicating drink from it. The Tibetans call the drink of immortality "dud-rtzi"; it is nectar or ambrosia. Literally it means the devil's drink. They use the name ho-ma by which they mean a butter-burnt-offering ; ho-ma-byed-pa means, usually, to offer. The Tibetans say "ho-ma" which is related to the Iranian "haoma" and not to the Sanskrit "soma" ; moreover the expression "devil's juice" is a defamatory appellation. Exactly the same did Zarathustra with the Haoma drinking bout. These two facts seem to indicate that the Tibetans have in this, as in many other ways, imbibed the Iranian heritage.

The sagas of the Great Flood offer us another parallel. We can differentiate two main motifs ; *a*) the cause of the flood, *viz.* the damming of the waters by the snake king, and *b*) the freeing of the waters when the demon was smashed to pieces and the saving of the human couple.

The Rong relate the following : "Then Paril-bu, who was the Serpent-king, dammed the rivers by lying in them, and they overflowed and rose to a great height and reached the sky...Tashey-thing sent a hero down into the world called the Yong-li-pone to kill the serpent who was blocking the rivers. The hero cut the serpent in pieces, thus making the waters run down the plains."[94]

Veda (I·32) describes how Vrtra, the snake demon, closed the passage of the waters so that they could not flow away. Indra came to battle, overwhelmed the snake-demon and cut it to pieces. Then he cleared the path for the waters so that they could flow freely into the sea.[95]

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[93] H. Oldenberg, op. cit. p. 169.

[94] Stocks, op. cit. p. 358.

Indra-Vrtra corresponds to the Iranian Tishtar-Apaosha. After the fight between them both had raged with unabated fury for three days, he appeared weary and about to give in. Whereupon he cried, "If men would perform sacrifices, I still could win." They therefore offered the Haoma sacrifice because of which the hero gained strength and conquered the demon. Indra had also obtained superb strength through the drinking of Soma. In the Rong myths the stimulant Chi had to be offered to God in order that he might be passified and let the floods abate. As the serpent is again linked in another way with the flood, the snake king as leader of the river Rung-nyo and the subsequent flood;—we do not believe that the Rong have, in this case, taken over Vedic Hindu myths, but have handed down, independently, their own legends, which are very slightly influenced by modern Hinduism.

The second motif is the saving of a pair or of a few people, who either saved themselves by taking refuge on a mountain-top or in a vessel. We have acquainted ourselves earlier with the Rong legend (page 40 sq.). In Atharvaveda (19·39·8) this event is recorded as having occurred in the Himalayas, "There was the arrival of the vessel ; there was the peak of the Himalayas ; there was immortality in sight ; there grows the Kushta grass." Shatapatha Brahmana (1·8·1/10) describes how Manu was saved in a ship. According to the Vendidad of the Iranians, Jamshed (Yima) was locked up in a "vara" by Ahura-Mazda, the Supreme God, in order that he might be saved from the great flood.

As the myths of the flood occur among so many Asiatic peoples (in the Near, Middle and Far East) there is no conclusive parallel about the saving of mankind as described in the myths of the Rong and Indo-Iranians. These legends could be drawn from several sources.

In the cult of the Rong, the sacrificing of bulls plays an outstanding part. For both, the living (during illness) and for the dead (in funeral ceremonies), the bulls must lose their lives. The same is true of the different important sacrifices offered in the course of the year.

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[95] Cfr. H. Oldenberg, op. cit. p. 133 sq.

On the contrary one of the traditions has it that the oldest material for offerings were Chi, the intoxicating drink, dried fish, and small birds. According to other traditions the number of objects is somewhat increased. "Every year we give fish (ngo), game (fo), rice-chi (mor-chi), beaten rice (ta-fa) and ginger (hing.) These are put on banana leaves and are offered at Shara near the Tulung monastery."[96] Another legend is as follows: "Tashey-takbo-thing took a supply of all these fruits with many fish from the rivers and sacrificed them. This was the commencement of all offerings."[97] This gives us an insight into the sacrificial practices of a people who live on game and the spoils of the chase, who offer the spoils and the collected eatable plants and fruits. The god of the hunt, Pong-rum, commanded the hunters to perform sacrifices to him.[98]

Completely different are the sacrifices of cattle, pigs and goats which are most closely linked up with the Mun-Bong-thing religion, as we have already seen from the reports of these priests.[99] But as these sacrifices are a very old custom of the Rong, it is obvious that the cattle offerings are old too. The cattle are, indeed, the Asiatic mountain Zebu, which have small horns and a rudimentary hump. In these days the Lepchas practise various methods of killing the victims. "Cattle are usually killed with a bow and arrow, shooting from very near, sometimes they are stoned or killed with a pointed knife. Pigs and goats are killed with a pointed knife if there is one, otherwise with a piece of sharpened bamboo."[100] The cattle are killed at the same time by the blow of an axe in the nape of the neck.

The sacrificing of cattle plays an important part in the ritual of many Asiatic mountain people. The Northern Sangtam tribe in Assam are familiar with such sacrifices during which beer is an important stimulant. Among the

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96. Stocks, op. cit. p. 358.
97. op. cit. p. 356.
98. Cfr. above p. 77.
99. Cfr. p. 58 sq.
100. Gorer, op. cit. p. 105.

Lakher, the Mithan must be shot with the bow and arrow. These sacrifices are common among the different Naga tribes.[101] Lepchas, who during the war came to these parts of the country, state that the practices of these people are in many ways similar to and in harmony with their own practices.

We find the sacrificing of bulls common to the Thai, the Lolo, the Na-chi and the Tibetans. Cattle and pigs were of primary importance among the animal offerings of ancient China. In Iran, Zarathustra waged fanatical warfare against the cattle killers. In the "Bull Gatha" (29) the soul of the bull complains to the gods that cattle are handed over to the murderous lust of men and prays for help and protection. Ahura-Mazda calls on Zarathustra to provide some protection for the cattle. At the time when the Aryans in India still preserved their nomadic tedencies, they offered bull sacrifices. Aitareya Brahmana (11·1·8) says that men at first had the horse as the principal sacrificial animal. Later, cattle took the place of the horse ; the sheep replaced the cow, and in the end cats replaced the sheep. Ultimately, however, plant offerings totally ousted the animal offerings. This is however a subsequent construction. The sacrifices of cattle occur still in modern India and the Brahmins who perform the sacrifice in South India must also eat the flesh that has been offered, and by doing so, they do not violate the rules of the caste.

Already in the Mohenjodaro culture the pictures of bulls are linked with the name of the deity Kusi, Ikusi; they are of the greatest significance and could only originate from the cult motifs. Thus the Rong sacrifices of the bull contribute greatly to the significance which the bull-cult has for mankind.

Very interesting parallels occur between the hunting rites and sacrifices of the Lepchas on the one hand, and the primitive Indian tribes and North-East Asiatic peoples on the other. Just as the Rong believe that their hunt-god, Pong-rum, incarnates himself in the form of bears, the

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[101] C. R. Stoner, The Feasts of Merit among the Northern Sangtam Tribes of Assam, Anthropos, Freiburg, 1950, Vol. XLV p. 1 sq.

Jakuts, the Sojots, Tungus, etc., regard the bears as deities.[102] These people have almost developed a pronounced bear cult.

This certainly is not the case with the Rong ; but even they hold the bear in high esteem and consider it to be the most intelligent and clever of all the wild animals, nay, with traits that bear has a resemblance to human beings. The bear is taboo among some Indian tribes.

The women-folk of these tribes, like the Lepcha women, are strictly excluded from all contact with the game that has been captured for the sacrifice. "The relationship of woman to game is especially delicate among all Siberian peoples. Especially during menstruation or pregnancy, she may easily ruin the luck when men go on a hunt. Further, in her heedlessness she can cause the animals to shy off to another district."[103] When the game is being conveyed into the house, a meeting with women must be avoided at all costs. Some tribes do not even permit the game to be taken in through the door because women pass in and out of it. The game is brought in through a window or some other aperture.[104] It is customary among the Golden, as also among the Irulas, not to permit a woman to look at the head of the bear, just as the Rong conceal the head of the game from the eyes of woman. Thus there occur among the hunting people who are now so widely scattered, very great similarities in the hunting rites and usages. The same can be said of their arts of magic.

This similarity is markedly evident in the case of the Mun and Bong-thing of the Rong and the Siberian Shamans. The only difference is, as we have already pointed out, that the Rong do not employ the individual Shaman instruments such as the Shaman drums and the magic daggers. The Lepchas have certainly preserved the older form. The vocational calling of the Siberian Shamans and the Rong-Mun is closely allied. Both men and women are elected. "Werbitskij mentions in his decription of Shamanism in the Altai district, that the Shaman gift is at the same time an

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102. U. Harva, Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaiischen Völker, Helsinki 1938, p. 407 sq.
103. U. Harva, op. cit. p. 412.
104. op. cit. p. 414 sq.

illness which is hereditary in the family. Numerous examples prove that the Shaman disposition does in fact appear as a kind of illness."[105]

Our own studies have brought to light the existence of similar dispositions among the Rong. In both places there is the same conception of the spirits of Shaman. These spirits sometimes take the form of animals, *e.g.*, that of a bull. "His bull-form walks abroad, is also said by the forest Juraks, when the soul of a Shaman has departed to another world."[106] They also bring the deceased into the kingdom of the dead.[107] All these facts run a close parallel to our findings among the Rong and other primitive hunter tribes in India.

Further similarities are found in the mode of consecration and instruction. The Shaman costume however is fundamentally different. The Rong have no special costume, while among the different Siberian peoples, a wide variety of customs are worn.

(*k*) THE SOCIAL CLASSES OF THE RONG.

According to the general tradition existent among the Rong, they claim to have been originally a race of hunters, and that in the very early times before the Tibetans, the Bhutanese and the Nepalese had infiltrated into their country, they lived as the free rulers of the immese forests which were their home. The Lepchas have a clear knowledge of the animals, the birds, the plants, the fruits and the roots, and can tell which are poisonous and which are edible. Even today the Lepcha will not starve if the harvest fails, for he will procure as his sustenance the edible leaves, fruits and roots from the forest. One such root is the dayout-buck. After being dug up it is broken into small pieces and soaked in water for three days to remove the poison and clear off the lye. A ferment is then added and a kind of beer produced. Another root is the dog-bo or bok-yik. It is cut up, the lye cleared, and then it is cooked and crushed. The broth is eaten like rice. This is of a pale violet colour.

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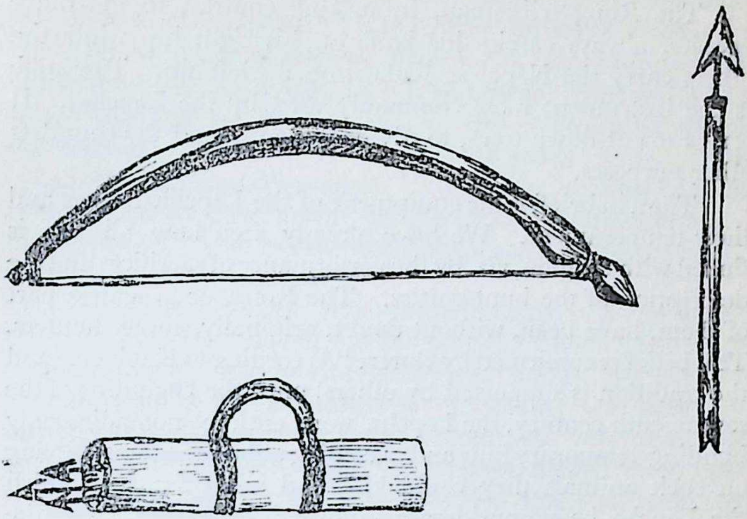
105. op. cit. p. 452.
106. op. cit. p. 478.
107. op. cit. p. 478.

Besides the knowledge of edible objects the Rong are well acquainted with poisons. They know the secret of a deadly poison for making poisoned arrows. A fairly thick layer is smeared on the lower half of the arrowhead but none whatsoever on the point. A very slight wound is enough to kill any animal. The great advantage of this poison is that it does not enter the blood stream but acts locally so that the entire flesh is not poisoned. The injured portion has necessarily to be cut away. The poison consists of a very complicated mixture of ingredients which points to the long experience the Lepchas have in its manufacture. The first ingredient, "Father of the poison" called ning-dyüd, is obtained from Tibet. The theory is that a bird scrapes out of the earth a peculiar root, eats part of it and gains immense strength. The Tibetans collect the remainder of the root and trade with the Lepchas who prepare the poison. Death quickly ensues if even the tiniest fragment of the root is consumed. Another ingredient, bar-lang, is a root, which, in the language of the Rong, is called rog-log. The third ingredient is obtained from gŏn-chong. Neither of the roots is found in the high mountains but has to be procured from the neighbourhood of the plains. Yet another root is called se-red in Lepcha, and ga-gra in Nepalese. In addition there is the poison extracted from the root of a shrub which bears a yellow flower, and whose name the hunter could no longer remember. Gŏn-liong-rik serves as the "conduct" for these poisons. So potent is the effect of this poison that a person is liable to lose his life even if he inhales the odour it gives off for too long a period. Without the admixture of the poison from Tibet, the other poisons cannot be localised and the entire flesh of the animal would be rendered unedible. Thus we see that the poison for arrows is very complicated and the process of preparation is known only to the Rong. The other people fear them because of this knowledge of poisons.

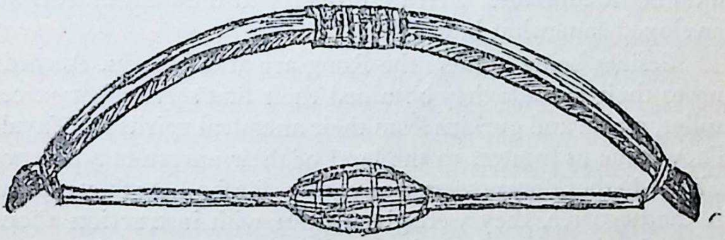
The fruit of the above-mentioned rog-log is called rog-log-pot, and only a very few people are in a position to procure it. A strong poison is made from it. A poison for the killing of fish is called bü-rü. This is obtained from the leaves of the gol-gung tree by rubbing them down in a mortar. The poison, if thrown into a tank, kills all the fish but in no way makes them inedible. Some of the Rong are passionate hunters and spend months away from home on their expeditions. They send the game to their families through others. These hunters venerate certain deities, Gom-shi-rum and Gom-yu-rum, who inspire them with this passion for hunting. The Rong hunter is intimately acquainted with the ways of the wild ; he knows every track, and can judge the time when the animal passed that way. He sets out in their tracks and pursues them tirelessly until he sights his quarry. Some of these hunters have won legendary fame. They told us of the father of A-chi Bong-thing, that he fearlessly pursued tigers and elephants. The very look in his eyes was so hypnotic that the animals, filled with frenzied fear, fled away from his glance as much as from his arrow.

The Lepcha makes his bow from the Ma-li-lang bamboo. The larger bows are about 1 and $\frac{3}{4}$ meter long, and the shorter ones about 1 and $\frac{1}{4}$ meter. The section of the bow shaft is 1/3 of a circle. The flat side of the shaft is inwards and the concave side outward. One end of the bow consists of a double knob separated by a notch which holds the string fastening. The other end has a notched pin in which the string can be easily fixed or removed. The string is made from Dzu-ya bamboo. At the ends are little ridges round which hemp threads are bound in order to fasten the string to the ends of the bow.

The arrow, which is about 50 cms. in length, is made from Po-rang bamboo. At the end is a notch which fits into the string. At the top of the shaft a fish tailed arrow head is let in. The quiver is made from the Bug-wood which grows in the plains. A bamboo loop fastened in the middle facilitates the carrying of the quiver. Another type of bow is used for shooting birds. It is smaller and the construction is slightly different. The bow shaft has a ridge of bamboo in the middle of the inner section of the shaft. The string is stretched into a little network in the middle which holds the pellets. The birds are shot with little taws of clay. (Fig. 22-24).



23 Lepcha bow, arrow, quiver



24 Lepcha bow for stone sthooting

Another weapon commonly used by the Rong is the knife Bakob. It has a straight blade and a gradually narrowing wooden hilt.

The Rong tribesman, in striking contrast to the other peoples, always carries his knife on his right hip while the others carry the Nepalese Kukuri on the left hip. The knife is the instrument most commonly used by the Lepchas. It serves to cut down trees, to divide the game and for countless other purposes.

That, in brief, is the equipment of the Lepcha hunters and their temperament. We have already seen how all this is linked with religion, *viz.* by the performance of sacrifices and the description of the hunt-deities. The Rong, or at least a part of them, have been, without doubt, originally, purely hunters. This belief is confirmed by Gorer, "According to Kahlyeu, (and the tradition is supported by others) until the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Lepcha were entirely nomadic, only building temporary huts and travelling about the forests, living on such animals they could kill, and wild plants of which the Lepcha have considerable knowledge, for they know the edible (but not, as European tradition believes, the medicinal) properties of nearly every plant and tree. Iron for knives, Kahlyeu says, was introduced in the time of his father's grandfather, that is to say, the first half of the eighteenth century. About a generation later the Lepcha started living in permanent houses and were able to hold or increase their stock of domestic animals. Private property in the land must have developed somewhat later."[108]

Besides being hunters the Rong are also farmers. According to their legends they obtained their first seeds of dry rice, millet, maize and gurkins from their ancestral spirits in Mayal. They came as hunters to the land of their ancestors and were asked whether they possessed any grains for food. As they replied in the negative, they were given grain with instruction about its cultivation. At first, rice was used only for sacrificial purposes. They could only test whether the rice was ready by biting it with their teeth, and when they did so they found that the rice was sweet, and henceforward they began to eat

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108. Gorer, op. cit. p. 69 sq.

rice as a food. The fact that the offering of sacrifices to the deities concerned with farming was preponderantly a woman's concern, leads us to conclude that farming was originally the work of the women. In the olden days the fields were burnt out in order to prepare them for the plantation. Part of the forest was burnt, cleaned up, and the cultivation of grain would be carried on for one or two years, after which the tribesmen would move away to another area. This is known as shifting cultivation. Today, the burning of fields is controlled by government, lest too much damage be done to the forests. The permanent field system is the common practice today. (Fig. 25-27)

The Rong originally dug up their fields with the use of the hoe, and they did not use the plough. They have taken over the plough only recently from the Indians and the Nepalese. The Lepcha's knowledge of farming was very elementary and they could by no means compete with the Indian and Nepalese farmers. There was a reason behind this. The Lepchas were not totally dependent for their existence on farming, for the collection of roots and plants, and hunting, offered them rich sources of nourishment. A little cattle-breeding goes hand in hand with farming. They keep a few cattle and goats ; sheep are kept very seldom, and at the most one or two pigs. The cattle are the mountain Zebu. The humps of these animals are feebly developed, but for the rest they are strong animals. The Zebu are generally of a black colour. The goats are of a poor variety and have no special breed. The pig, which is different in shape from the black Chinese pig, has as its forbear the black Himalayan boar. The stomach of the pig does not hang down low ; it has small erect ears, a strong mane of bristles, and a long and pointed head. A Lepcha who is well off keeps about eight to ten cattle, and among these are two pairs of oxen for cultivation. The other animals are milk cows and calves. The milk provided by these animals is used mainly for tea ; but occasionally butter is made from it. The number of goats reared is also not very large—ranging from ten to fifteen among the richer folk. The cattle and goats are driven to the grassy slopes for grazing throughout the day and in the evening they return to their stalls. (Fig. 28)

These stalls for the cattle consist of a protecting roof supported on a bamboo frame. On the sloping side there is a little platform about $\frac{1}{2}$ a meter high, which is used as a rack and is enclosed with bamboo posts. Here the fodder is piled,—grass and the branches and leaves of certain trees and shrubs. Little huts are used as stalls for the goats. These are raised about one meter high on bamboo posts. A bamboo gangway over which the goats cross into the hut, leads to the door. For the poultry, there is a little hut raised on bamboo posts about two meters above the ground. The poultry get into the hut by walking over a post with notches cut into it. In this manner the goats and poultry are protected against the wild animals. Every farm has a few dogs of a wretched paria breed. Horses and donkeys are rare.

The house of the Rong tribesman differs from that of the Nepalese, Bhutanese and Tibetans. It is so built on the slope, that the back wall rests against a stone foundation. A little path runs between the rear wall and the mountain slope, and this leads to the door either directly or through a little stone stairway. In front of the wall in the direction of the slope, a terrace is levelled out and on this there are two or three rows of columns made of square-cut tree trunks which support a balcony of planks. Over this balcony are walls made of pannels which are either filled in with wooden boards or with bamboo slats which are smeared with a layer of mud. A few openings are left in the walls which serve as windows and these are closed with the aid of sliding boards. The construction of the roof is peculiar. It consists of three sections; one of these is the middle ridge roof and two gable roofs. While the ground plan of the house is square, the roof is oval. It is covered with a special variety of grass held in place with bamboo slats. On the outer side a gallery runs either all around the four walls or around one wall only. (Fig. 29-32).

The inside of the square house is divided into several parts. The biggest room is the fireplace. The planks of the floor along the back wall are covered with a thick layer of clay and are set in an edging of clay. In the centre there are three stones on which the kettles are placed. In larger families there are two fire-places made of five stones. The third stone in the middle is common to both and is long enough to support a kettle on each of its outer extremities. Since the stones are placed with a view to holding larger kettles little iron tripods with rings are placed between the stones so as to permit the use of little kettles. Wood is used for fuel. About 1 and ½ meter above the fire a bamboo framework shelf is suspended for holding the kitchen utensils, fuel and other articles. The fireplace stretches across the entire width of the house, as it is the chief work-room, dining-room and, at night, the dormitory. In addition to this there are other little rooms shut off by wooden partitions. Some of these have a roof made of bamboo slats. All types of belongings are stored up over this ceiling which can be approached by the help of a tree trunk notched at intervals to serve as stairs. Occasionally one finds an additional partition which serves as an altar on which sacrifices are offered. This is, very likely, a borrowing from Buddhism.

The pig sties are sometimes located under the house, sometimes at the side. Near the house are situated the stables for cattle and goats and the poultry cages, together with other store houses. The entire settlement in some cases is completely enclosed with a bamboo fence.

Individual farmhouses are as a rule all by themselves. But there are also settlements which comprise of two, three or four houses. This kind of dwelling, a kind of building on piles, is characteristic of the Rong, but has its parallels in South-East Asia and South China.

The ancient costume of the Rong consists of two coarse striped widths of cloth which are held in place over the shoulders by means of a clasp, and about the loins with the aid of a cloth girdle. It reaches up to the knees. Both men and women wear trousers which come below the knees. Sometimes the men wear a short shirt, while the women wear a bodice. This was the ancient costume and the material for this was woven by the Lepchas themselves. Today the practice of weaving has almost died out. The Lepchas purchase ready-made materials. In place of the old style the women have taken over the Tibetan style in an ever increasing degree ; the long dress without sleeves (the Tibetan dress is with sleeves) held with a girdle, and a jacket over it. The head gear consists of a cloth worn in the manner of the Nepalese women. The old head-dress for the men was a thimble-shaped hat woven from bamboo; see book-cover. (Fig. 33-36).

The Rong folk wear rings, bracelets, and necklaces as ornaments. But one will never come across a case of a Rong wearing any ornamentation to the nose, the feet and the toes. The most common implement used by the women is the sickle. A bent sickle hook-shaped at the upper end is called bahur in the Lepcha tongue, and kurpa in Nepalese. It is used for cutting wood and the branches of trees. Another kind of sickle, in the shape of a half moon, is called angsu (sikäl in Nepalese) and is used to mow grass and weeds. The third type has a toothed edge, and is used as a kind of saw. It is called angsu in Lepcha and ancher in Nepalese. A girl is given her sickle at the age of seven or eight, and the boy his knife, so that from a very early age they may be able to practise the use of the most universal of instruments. Usually it is carried in the belt at the back. (Fig. 37-44)

The most important of the implements used for farming is the wide shovel-like hoe, and it is used for loosening the earth and clearing it of weeds. There are in addition two or three pronged hoes used for loosening the earth and relieving it of weeds.

The plough has been taken over from the Nepalese. It consists of a horn shaped piece of wood, which is tipped by the iron ploughshare. The drawing beam goes up from the centre and above is the plough handle with a handle to steer with. The beam is fixed to the yoke which is drawn by two oxen.

The economy of the Rong corresponds entirely with that of the other mountain peoples of South-East Asia and South China, *e.g.* the Miau. They were originally hunters who have taken over to farming. They have certainly not learnt the old agricultural economy from other peoples, but they absorbed into themselves the people who practised the arts of farming. Domestic animals are reared mainly for the purpose of sacrifice and not for any economic gain, and they are of the greatest importance. The combination of hunting with farming must already have been effected by the Rong in very early times.

Gorer believes that the Rong were hunters about three hundred years ago, and that they carried on a little farming with dry rice and millet and kept a few cattle. When the Bhutanese and the Nepalese overran the land, the Lepchas withdrew into the forests, where they gave up farming and lived solely by hunting. When peace was restored they again took up to farming.[109]

(*l*) THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION OF THE RONG

There are two basic types among the Lepchas which have to be clearly differentiated. The one with the long small face, the high forehead, the high narrow nose, and the well-defined eye-brow prominences; the eye is mostly without the Mongolian fold (if the upper lid droops it does not cover the inner corner of the eye). The face is also well-modelled ; the cheek bones are not very prominent. The form of the head is mesocephalic or dolichocephalic. These people are taller and somewhat above the average height. The colour of the skin is light yellow. (Fig. 45).

The other type has a wide short face, a wide low forehead, well-defined supra-orbital ridges, a broad nose with depressed root and cheek bones that are somewhat more prominent. The eye often shows the Mongolian fold. The lips are thin, the shape of the head is brachycephalic, and the colour of the skin light yellow. Both the types have a slight growth of beard and a scanty growth of hair all over the body. The Mongolian spot occurs among most of the children of both types. The Lepchas call the spot "ri-om" and say that children without the spot are delicate. (Fig. 46)

The Rong have well-proportioned bodies. The muscles of the thigh and calves are particularly well-formed because of the fact that they are tireless mountain climbers. On the average however, the Rong are more lightly built than the neighbouring people. The women have very finely cut features.

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[109] op. cit. p. 110.

In the anthropology of the Rong, a two-fold classification is shown : a Mongoloid and a non-Mongoloid element. Our investigation has shown us this two-fold element in the religion and the economy of the Lepchas. From an anthropological standpoint we would like to draw a line of difference between the hunters and the farmers, thus forming two typical groups. The hunters with their hunting religion, sociology and economy represent the tall Rong type and are characterised by the larger physical build, the long small face, the open eye and the long small high nose. The farmers, on the other hand constitute the second group with shorter physiques, broad faces, broad nose, Mongolian eyefold, and prominent cheek bones.

Thus we see that the Rong bear evidences of a mixed culture, and this helps to solve many contradictions concerning them. Some believe that they have connections with the Tibetans. Others say that they wandered from the east along the Burma-Assam mountains. Our own belief is that the hunting component of the Rong are the primitive indigenous inhabitants of the forests of Sikkim. The farmers came from the east and have connections with such people as the Naga, the Lolo and the Miau.

The Rong language belongs to the pure group, that is to say, to the pronounless Himalayan group of the Tibeto-Burman languages. This bears out the facts that they experienced no Austro-Asiatic influence in the language as the Limbu did. Consequently the Austro-Asiatics cannot be held responsible for the non-Mongoloid element among the Lepchas. The only possibility is that among the pure Tibeto-Burmans and in a wider sense among the Tibeto-Chinese, there is an element purely non-Mongoloid and another that is Mongoloid. The study of the Rong therefore throws light on the Mongoloid problem and shows a formation of the Mongoloids within the Tibeto-Chinese Family (Tibeto-Burman is the large sub-group of this family of languages) and, in a very marked manner, among the farming peoples. This is in perfect agreement with the results of our research in Tibet. I found that the Tibetan Mongoloids are represented among the farming population. The cattle breeding nomads have very few Mongoloid features or none at all. Hence it is that in Tibet also, the Mongoloids are farmers. In the regions of North-West China, in Tsing-hai and Kan-su, we found that in many Chinese, living there, the Mongoloid element was completely lacking or present in a very negligible manner. These people are also of a larger build ; they have the long, high-bridged noses, the long narrow faces and in many cases the Mongolian fold is not to be found. One might object that this was due to the influence of non-Mongoloid peoples like the Tibetans and the Turks who repeatedly overran these districts and ruled over the people for long periods of time. We shall refer later to the Mongoloids in China. At this stage it can be said that in China, the pure Mongoloids came from the farming inhabitants in Eastern and Central China as we have proved in the first chapter. One cannot quote the Mongols as counter evidence, as they are a very mixed and younger culture with strong agricultural influences.

We shall not deal in a detailed manner with the customs and habits of the Lepchas at birth, betrothal, marriage, death and burial. There is only one more point which I should like to touch upon : the judging of the Lepchas through the descriptions of European authors like Gorer and C.J. Morris. The two authors describe these people as being dominated by a strong, a very strong, sex complex. J. H. Hutton remarks in his foreword to Gorer's book, "Another aspect of Lepcha life which is almost as striking as the absence of aggression, is the apparent obsession of the whole community with sex. I was tempted to suppose that the author of this book had overemphasised the Lepchas' attitude to sex through an unconscious dramatisation, a journalistic dramatisation, if I may call it so, of a want of reticence on sexual matters of all kinds in a degree quite unfamiliar in his own society. The perusal, however, of Mr. Morris's book shows that I did Mr. Gorer an injustice. At the same time I am rather inclined to feel that the apparent preoccupation of the Lepchas with sex does not necessarily imply that the importance attached to it by them in their lives is proportionately theatrical. One is inclined to wonder whether this consciousness of sex is the cause or the result of the Lepchas' declining population, a decline of which the Lepchas are acutely aware. Probably, if there is any such connection at all it is by now a vicious circle, but either alternative seems possible."[110] And Gorer himself writes : "The Lepchas are much occupied with sex ; it is the subject to much of their conversation and nearly all their humour ; it is regarded as almost as essential as food. Sex is intended to be almost exclusively sensual and almost impersonal ; the culture makes no allowance for deep personal relationships passionately adhered to between sexual partners."[111]

In the first place we maintain that the sex instinct, the instinct that prompts a man to propagate his own kind, is a very strong one, natural to all peoples, and the Rong are no exceptions. It cannot be said of them that they are passionate in an extreme manner. The relationship that exists between male and female among all Asiatic peoples is different from that which prevails among the Europeans. The same is true of man and wife within the bond of marriage. The Lepchas are in no way alien to the general Asiatic picture. The method Gorer adopts to demonstrate his theory is wrong. He puts together the love affairs of a few individual Lepchas and with one unwarranted generalization he regards it as the average sexual standard of all Lepchas. Anyone could draw a similar picture of every nationality in the world if one would collect the "Chronique scandaleuse" of separate individuals and present it under the title "Sex Life of the Nation."[111a]

Gorer moreover states that the Lepchas believe or pretend to believe that puberty of girls, the development of breasts and menstruation occur only through sexual relationship with a man or a supernatural creature, the Kandu Mung, who is supposed to appear to the girl in order to make her sexually mature. This, of course, would very rarely occur. Most girls about nine or ten years of age would have to be raped. It would appear that the men invented this story to make the women dependent on them, particularly if the female desired puberty to come on. This belief of Gorer however we could not ascertain in the very places where Gorer carried out his research. All the same we were able to check on it in other places. The Rong women are not so simple as to be taken in by such a man-made legend. They, on the contrary, affirm that the sexual maturity of girls and the development of the secondary sex characteristics occur without sexual relationship with man. The only difference is that the breasts of the girl who had had sexual relationship with man would produce some milk. The Maharaja of Sikkim and other educated Sikkimese, who read Gorer's book, found his description to be a defamation of the Lepcha character.

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[110] op. cit. p. 27.
[111] op. cit. p. 332.
[111a] G. S. Ghurye, Sexual Behaviour of the American Female, Sociological Bulletin, Bombay 1954, Vol. III, No. 2, p. 158 sq.

The Lepchas are the descendants of the first brother Lepcha, as reported above. They fall into three divisions, which are named after the districts in which they live. The Ilame Lepchas live in the Ilame district of Nepal; the Dandjung Lepchas on the other side of the Tista river in Sikkim; the Dam-sang Lepchas in Indian Sikkim and Bhutan. The second brother was called God-she, and is the father of the Jimdar tribe. The third was Meche, and he is the protoparent of the Meche. Each of these three have a different language.[112]

B. SIKKIM YAK-TAMBA

There is in Sikkim a class of people who are called Limbu by the Nepalese and Tzong-pa by the Tibetans. They call themselves Yak-tamba, Ek-tamba and Ek-tambu. Tradition has it that, after the Lepchas, they are the oldest inhabitants of the place having settled there before the Tibetans and the Nepalese came to settle in the land. They are intermixed with the Rong in a very remarkable manner. At the present time they inhabit the land to the west as far as the river Arun as we have already pointed out before. They are regarded as divisions of the Limbu and bear a very close resemblance to them. The Yak-tamba have flatter faces and more Mongoloid features than the Lepchas.

C. THE BHODJA OF SIKKIM

The Tibetans who migrated into Sikkim are called the Sikkim Bhodja. Legend links the Tibetan Je-khye-bu-men with the original Rong ancestor Ti-kung-tek, through whom he had three descendants. One of these sons, Mi-dpon-rab is said to be the ancestor of the ruling family in Sikkim. The father of the Je-khye-bu-men was Zhal-nga-guru-bkra-shis, who came from the neighbourhood of Lhasa, immigrated into Sikkim. In the sixth generation of his line came Phun-thzog-rnam-rgyal, who came to be the first Raja of Sikkim. The legend connects the tribal ancestor of the Lepchas with the ancestors of the Raja in order to sanction the authority of the Tibetans in Sikkim. This Tibetan dynasty was founded in the middle of the 17th century A.D.

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[112] cfr. the report of the Rai given above concerning the first parents and their three sons; see p. 7, 38. Here we have the same content of the myth.

The spreading of the Tibetan Lamaism in Sikkim is attributed to the Lama Lha-btzun-chen-po. He hailed from South-East Tibet, where he was born in 1595. After many wanderings and journeys he finally came to Sikkim and began to spread Lamaism in the form of Old-Sect together with two other Lamas, Sems-dpa-chen-po and Rig-adzin-chen-po. Chronologically they performed their work about the same time as Phun-thzog-rnam-rgyal made his appearance. The Bhutanese sect aBrug-pa also won considerable repute in Sikkim.

It seems reasonable to suppose that the Tibetans must have penetrated the country a long while before ; for it is impossible to explain how the Tibetan families brought the greater part of Sikkim under their sway particularly when one is confronted with the fact that there was no armed effort on the part of the Tibetans to conquer the territory. The language of the Sikkim Bhodja is a Tibetan dialect and is called Den-jong-ke, a corruption of abras-ljong, "Rice Land" (which is another name for Sikkim) and skad (language). They are most numerous in the northern districts and are mainly tradesmen and shepherds while a few of them are farmers. We have among them the same anthropological types as we found in Tibet : a Mongoloid type with clearly slit eyes, a flat face and short nose and the nomadic type with open eyes, large narrow nose and sharply cut features. Their religious and cultural aspects have remained purely Tibetan, and, as a consequence, their costume and manner of living. Nevertheless they were not able to conquer the country in a very short time. (Fig. 47-48)

In Pedong we heard the following legend. The oldest of the Rong kings is called Tur-re or Tu-re-pa-no. Before his time, no kingdom lasted long among the Lepchas. He had three sons—Tur-sang-pa-no, Tur-ageng-pa-no (also called Tur-sung) and Tur-ayek-pa-no. The last of these was overwhelmed by the Tibetans and dethroned. In his place came the above mentioned Phun-thzog-rnam-rgyal, whose genealogical table runs as follows : rTen-sung-rnam-rgyal, Phyag-rdor-rnam-rgyal, aGur-med-rnam-rgyal phun-thzog, brTen-adzog-rnam-rgyal, gTzog-phud-rnam-rgyal, Srid-skyong-sku-gzhog. There was a great tension between the Lepcha chiefs and the Tibetan rulers. Under gTzog-phud an attack is supposed to have been launched against the Rong and particularly against their prime minister, Ra-thup. The attack caused Ra-thup and his adherents to flee into Ilame in Nepal where they have strong settlements to this day.

According to another tradition that has been handed down Geb-a-dyak was the name of the first Lepcha king, who had his seat near the Himalayas. His wife, who was a famous sorceress, bore him two sons, the eldest of whom was called Geb-gun-gra, and the second, Geb-a-djok. The first of these with his followers settled in the Tista valley as far as Bhutan. The youngest came to Pedong. He was a bold hunter and once, in pursuit of wild boar, he came as far as Dalen. There was a lake in this place and the surroundings appealed to his taste, so he decided to settle down here. He had a trench dug out so that the waters of the lake could run out. From the dried bed of the lake there appeared two great Triton shells who moved away into Bhutan because the waters of the lake no longer sheltered them. When the son told his mother, sorceress, this story, she remarked, "Do not live in the place. Since the protecting spirits of the country have gone away into Bhutan, the king of Bhutan will come and kill you and gain possession of the land." A-djok, all the same, paid no heed to his mother's warning and settled down in the land where he built two fortresses, Da-len-am-at at the entrance to the plain, and Dam-sang near Pedong. He brought other parts of the country under his sway.

The king of Bhutan once sent two of his men to clear A-djok away from the spot. They tried to do so for two years, but their efforts were unsuccessful. In a moment of frustration they decided to bribe the king's cook to murder the king. One morning the cook came to the king and said, "Wake up and eat your break-fast." While the king attempted to rise the cook stabbed him under the shoulder blade. The king fell to the ground and the two Bhutanese rushed in and hacked off the king's head. They then threw the head and the body down the precipice. As the disjointed sections of the royal body rolled down the steep, they tried to unite once again, but an old woman appeared on the scene and cast a spell and scattered ashes as a result of which the head and the trunk remained separated. The head rolled into the river Tchil-go-la. This was how the Lepcha king was destroyed and his kingdom passed on into the hands of the Bhutanese. And so it was that many Bhutanese settlements came into existence.

We heard the following version from an old Bhutanese in Pedong. The Tibetan Gabu-lang-da came to Bhutan where he was called Dib-rgyal-po. Thence he went to Sikkim where he was known by the name of Gabu-a-dyuk. In the reign of the Bhutanese king Nao-dji-mi-no-bo, he was killed in his fort Dalen. Although this story bears evidences of a mixture of different legends, it runs a close parallel to the story of Ga-bu or Gyabu-po-no, who is the king of the Rum land and who sent his youngest brother into the world to save mankind. According to another legend, Ta-she-thing sends rGyal-po-phya-da to this place after the flood to be a king and he is regarded to be identical with the first Maharaja of the place.[113] This is the first clear instance in which the Tibetan Ge-sar saga makes its appearance in Sikkim legends.

A-djok also called A-chos was the uncrowned king of Southern Sikkim. The Bhutanese, after assassinating him, took control of that part of the country and established many Bhutanese settlements. When in 1772 Koch Behar was also overrun by the Bhutanese they were driven away by a light British colonial force. In 1774 a peace treaty was concluded with Bhutan. In 1778, the Gurkhas attacked Sikkim, and in 1792 they made another invasion. In 1814 the

[113] cfr. Stocks, op. cit. p. 359, 427.

Nepalese war broke out. The British joined forces with the Raja of Sikkim and the Gurkhas were overcome. The population of Southern Sikkim diminished considerably as a consequence of the confusion of the war. When peace was restored and the frontier was again open to immigrants many settlers came into the country from Nepal.

The Nepalese represent by far the greatest number of the population. We thus find in Sikkim a miniature version of the Nepalese racial intermixture which has been described above. The Indo-Aryan Khaskura dialect, called Nepali for short, has also become the *lingua franca* of Sikkim. Hinduism as a religion has progressed so much that the original characteristics of the country are rapidly vanishing and we feel certain that the Rong culture will one day die out altogether. The Brahmins are looked upon as the Jews of Sikkim, who by lending money to the Lepchas against securities of land are securing large areas for themselves. They are moreover tenacious farmers and consequently continue to gain greater prestige and influence. The following figures would give us a fair idea of the movement of the population in what was formerly British Sikkim. At the time of the British conquest of the country it was most uninhabitable and but a few acres were under cultivation. The main portion of it was forest and because of the turmoil of war the natives had practically deserted the land. Thus in the year 1835, about 100 persons were living there. Then the population increased; in 1850 there were 10·000; in 1869, 22·000; in 1871/72, 94·702; in 1881, 155·179; in 1891, 223·314; in 1901, 249·117.[113a] (Fig. 49-52)

We shall now give a brief description of the tribes living at the foot of the Sikkim mountains. The Rajbansi or Koch, Dhimal and Meche live in the jungle at the foot of the mountains. They are farmers, who cultivate tracts of burnt out forest land, and hunters. It is possible for them to survive in these fever infested districts because they are immune to malaria. We have already come across the Meche as relations of the Rong in the myth of the descent. The Dhimal have also preserved some remains of their language and

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113a. OMalley, Bengal District Gazetteers, Darjeeling 1907, p. 45 sq.

belong to the Tibeto-Burman group. There is a divergence of opinion with regard to the Koch. Some are of the opinion that they are Dravidians who have been influenced by the Mongoloids of the nearby mountains. Others maintain that they have been Mongoloids from the very beginning. They have a dark complexion. Today they have spread from Siliguri up to Jalpaiguri and they have emigrated as far as Koch Behar and Goalpara in Assam. The Meche inhabit the land from the Brahmaputra up to the river Kosi. They are all very strongly influenced by Hinduism and have adopted Bengali as their language of communication. (Fig. 53-54)

CHAPTER IV

THE MOUNTAIN TRIBES OF BHUTAN

A. THE aBRUG-PA-BHODJA.

The Bhutanese who live to the west of Pele-la are typically Tibetan from the anthropological, linguistic, social and religious aspects. Since they are called aBrug-pa by the Tibetans, they have come to be called aBrug-pa-Bhodja. They are an especially good and strong race, and are characterised by both the non-Mongoloid open type and the Mongolian forms. The people are above average height and the face is very sharply formed. Unlike the other Tibetans the men and the women wear no pigtails but shave the hair. The men often wear turbans. The language is a Tibetan dialect called Lho-ke which, we feel certain, means "southern language" from lho and skad.

B. THE EASTERN TRIBES

There are Lepchas living to the east of Pele-la. They have come there from Sikkim because they were able to continue their system of field-burning in Bhutan. Various other Nepalese tribes have moved down from the lower mountains into the plains. There are other tribes related to the mountain peoples of Assam who are regarded as the original inhabitants of the district. They have their own non-Tibetan language. They are of small physiques and have dark complexions. These tribes of North Assam belong linguistically to the Tibeto-Burman group and include the Aka, Abor, Miri, Dafla, Mishmi. Further south are tribes who fall into the Bodo language group which belongs to the Assam-Burman branch of the Tibeto-Burman family. Of these tribes only the Kachari who have settled to the east of Diwangiri and the Meche who are to the west of it upto the region of Alipu, come within the scope of this research. It is strange that the Meche are included in the Bodo language group in spite of the tradition which maintains their relationship with the Lepchas.

C. THE TERAI TRIBES

We can rightly call the Meche and the Kachari the real Terai tribes for they live in the plains at the foot of the Himalayas. Some authorities trace the derivation of the name Meche to the Sanskrit word "mleccha," *i.e.* without caste. But as the Lepchas, the Limbu and other Nepalese tribes are acquainted with the name, it seems that the name is an original designation and not a derivation from the Sanskrit word. There is one opinion which holds that they originated from Bhim and Hidamba, or from Turbasu, the son of Raja Jajati, who was cursed by his father as a consequence of which his children do not belong to any caste. This explanation bears strong evidences of Hindu influence.[114] The Meche are on the borderline and are included by some together with the Dhimal, and the North Assam group, in the Bodo language family. Other writers place the Dhimal in the Himalayan group. Endle gives the following survey :

A. North Group.

1.	Bara (Kachari)	272,500	in Western Darrang, Kachari, Duars, and in North Kamrup.
2.	Rabha (Totala)	31,370	Goalpara.
3.	Mech (mes)	93,900	Goalpara.
4.	Dhimal	..	North-East Bengal.
5.	Koch	10,300	at the North frontier of Jalpaiguri as far as North-West Darrang.
6.	Solanimiyas	15 to 18 families	only in the Mangaldai sub-group.
7.	Mahaliyas, Phulgariyas, Saraniyas		in West Darrang ; all slightly Hinduized Kachari.

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[114] S. Endle, The Kacharis, London, 1911, p. 81 sq.

B. South Group.

1.	Di ma sa	15,931	North Cachar Hills.
2.	Hojais	2,750	North Cachar Hills and Nowgong.
3.	Lalung	40,160	South-West Nowgong and border districts.
4.	Garos	150,000	in the Garo hills and at their foot.
5.	Haijong	8,766	in the plain bordering on the southern foot of the Garo Hills.
6.	Hill Tippera (Tripura)	105,850	Hill Tippera, etc.

In addition come the Moran and Chutiya in Upper Assam.

And this brings us to the people who speak the Bodo languages which belong to the Assam-Burman group and through them fall into the larger group of Tibeto-Burman languages. They are the Mongoloids who advanced farthest into North-East India and who in olden times were scattered over a considerably larger area. We shall return to this later on.

Besides the Meche, we are interested here in their easterly neighbours the Kachari who call themselves the Bada (Bara). This word is now pronounced 'Bodo.' As is the case with the Meche so also with the Kachari ; the Mongoloid features are very prominent: the strong cheek bones, slit eyes, a slight growth of hair on the body, and scant beard. They are shorter and more stocky than the Indians of the north-east. They are predominantly farmers and cultivate a type of rice eminently suited to the Terai. Hunting and fishing are the only other means of procuring their sustenance. They breed silk-worms for the manufacture of silk. The rice beer called Zu is the national drink and is similar to the millet beer of the Rong. Their sacrifices consist of rice, pigs, goats, hens, etc. In the event of an epidemic, a woman performs a kind of shaman dance before spirit figures and in the course of the dance she cuts off the head of the goat with the sacrificial sword 'imfi.' The blood is collected for the sacrificial offering and some of it is sprinkled on the ground. The pigs, goats, hens and other victims are then offered up to the spirit. In many of their customs the Meche and the Kachari are strongly influenced by Hinduism.

CHAPTER V

THE MONGOLOID PROBLEMS

Among the Southern Himalayan tribes we find, within the same group of people speaking the same language, Mongoloid and non-Mongoloid elements present. This is the case with the Lepchas who are the original inhabitants of Sikkim. Among the Lepchas there are two clearly differentiated types. The one has a wide forehead, a low bridged and broad nose, Mongolian eye fold, and the people are of an average or shorter build. The other has a long and narrow head, no Mongolian eye fold, and the people are of a higher build. We have already shown earlier that these two divisions can be traced also in the economy of the Lepchas ; the non-Mongoloids were originally nomadic hunters, the Mongoloids were originally farmers. The Lepcha language belongs to the Tibeto-Burman group of the Tibeto-Chinese family of languages. The Newar in Nepal are quite clearly non-Mongoloid. They have open eyes without the Mongolian fold, strong noses, clear cut faces, and are tall in stature. Nevertheless linguistically they belong to the Tibeto-Burman group. We have therefore peoples who are facially non-Mongoloid but who belong linguistically to the Tibeto-Chinese family of languages. The Mongoloids, including those of the neighbouring countries, India, Assam and Burma, speak a Tibeto-Burman language. The only exceptions are the Khasi and the Jainita (Synteng) who are connected with them in Assam but speak an Austro-asiatic language.

We found similar contrast of Mongoloid and non-Mongoloid elements in our investigations in Inner Asia. While studying the problem there we found it of special interest to trace it in the Southern Himalayas as the Tibetans in a very special manner contribute greatly to the understanding of this complicated problem. The existence of the Mongoloid element in the Southern Himalayas is traced back frequently to the penetration of real Mongols who are supposed to have come there from Tibet. But the Mongoloid problem cannot be solved so easily.

During our investigations of the Amdo-Nomads (North-East Tibet) the following facts were brought to light. The nomads are of a medium build. Their bodies are thick-set and muscular but well-proportioned as can be gauged by comparing the length of the legs with the torso. Being a mountain race, their legs are well-formed and their calves very strong. Their powers of endurance as far as walking is concerned is not quite as great as their stamina as horse-riders because they are more often on horseback. There are, of course, exceptions—the pilgrims who walk for months on end. Their skin is of a light brown tint, and in the case of some families it is even pinkish white. The face is usually a glowing or copper red, and the yellowish pale colour of the Mongoloids is completely absent. Their lips are thin and tight, the nose septum less pronounced. The head is big and long, but there are also round heads particularly among the Go-log. The elongated face is stamped in very sharp relief and is striking. The forehead recedes a bit. The bridge of the nose is high and narrow and sharp, aristocratic and aquiline noses are frequently to be found among them. The true Mongolian eye fold is lacking as also the Mongolian spot. The growth of hair on the body is far denser, and some of the tribes have a very thick growth of beard. Generally the hair on the head is straight but wavy hair is not totally absent. The type bears a close resemblance racially with the North American Indians, and is predominant among the Tibetan nomads. We may call it "Europoid," not because it could be traced back to the western Europoid influence, but because it has the greatest resemblance to the Europoids.

In addition to the "Europoid" type we find also among the Tibetan nomads the Mongoloid type which is more clearly evident among the farmers of the present day whose origin can be traced back to the primitive and original agricultural class, than among the nomadic class who turned to agriculture when compelled to do so by sheer necessity. Among these nomadic people a "Europoid" nomadic type stands out distinctly. And it is precisely at this juncture that we realise how a new economy and way of life has its influence on the somatic structure of a race. The Tibetan nomad, who becomes a peasant, adopts a new economy, changes his life and also his diet, and attains a different psychological standing. He eats more farinacious food, bread, noodles and vegetable which are the products of his farms, and eats less meat and milk products. The fact that quondam nomad now lives in houses, sleeps on beds and has a totally different occupation also has its effect on the body. All these deviations and transformations gradually effect the physical habits, the phenotype. The deeply-cut weather-beaten face of the nomad becomes the soft and rounded face of the peasant. The peasants lose their pristine resistance to illness and grow more prone to sickness and disease. All these circumstances prove that a physical transformation takes place which after a fairly long period of time can cause racial differences.

Many nomadic tribes, who have cast their lot with the peasants or taken to farming, have been subject to these processes of change. Not only the cattle-breeding nomads but also the hunting nomads have been subjected to this change. The nomadic hunting tribes and the cattle-breeding nomads have practically the same gypsy mode of life in the open and the same diet. When such hunting tribes settle down in a fixed abode and take up to farming as a means of sustenance, they undergo a similar somatic transformation. This is exactly what took place and is taking place in the Southern Himalayan mountains, where Lepcha hunters, deprived of their hunting grounds, were forced to become farmers. The Mongoloid racial type is chiefly represented by the farming peoples.

The following marks are characteristic of the Mongoloids : The head is short and usually broad (brachycephalic); elongated heads are also to be found but the highest percentage of the people have short heads. The cheek bones are prominent and stand out forwards and sideways. The forehead is steep and broad and does not have a backward tilt and the occiput is projecting. The prominence above the eye is hardly noticeable. The face itself is in low relief and appears flat and wide. The low-bridged nose is depressed at the root and widens out at the base. The eyeball is prominent and is covered by the rather fleshy upper lid which droops down so that the edge of the lid, where the roots of the eyelashes are situated, are so concealed that only the lashes appear beneath it. The inner end of the upper lid overlaps the lower lid so that the inner angle (*canthus*) of the eye with the tear duct is covered up. In this way the epicanthic or the so-called

Mongolian fold is formed.) This is a dominant characteristic in the mixed races. Whenever, in this treatise, we refer to the Mongolian fold or to Mongolian eyes we mean precisely this overlapping and covering of the inner angle of the eye. This is, for us, the sole factor in determining whether an eye is Mongolian or not. The slit eye is also caused by other formations of the upper lid. The overdeveloped lid can droop over the middle of the eye as well over the outer extremity of the eye so that the outer corner of the eye is heavily overlapped. But even in these cases the inner angle of the eye can remain free. The slit eye has its beginnings in this manner, but it is certainly different from the Mongolian fold. Moreover there are nipped-in eyes that seem similar to the slit eyes, but these cannot be called Mongolian. A distinction must be drawn between these various eye formations. But one fact stands out clear and indisputable,—the only valid characteristic mark of distinction for the Mongolian eye is the overlapping of the inner angle of the eye and the concealing of the tear duct by the upper lid of the eye.

By Mongoloids we mean the yellow race which has the following additional characteristics : the colour of the skin is yellowish or pale. The young children possess the Mongolian spot, a shiny bluish pigment in the skin of the sacrum (lumbar region) which disappears after a few years. (Fig. 55-64)

CHAPTER VI

THE PALAEOMONGOLOIDS

The investigation of the Southern Himalayan peoples with their Mongoloid and non-Mongoloid components leads us to the so called Palaeomongoloids, and one would naturally presume that they have the characteristic Mongoloid traits if only to a slight degree. The presence of one individual trait, *e.g.* the prominent cheek bones would be insufficient to justify the classification of a race with the Mongoloids, as these individual trait may occur in other races as well. The phrase *Homo sapiens palaeomongolicus* has been coined by Eickstedt. His description of the race is as follows :

"From the viewpoint of historical development, primitive bodily characteristics of the Southern Sinids are also found in a second primitive form in the south, that of the more south-western lying Palaeomongoloid races, which cover the Indo-Chinese hill country with Laos and Burma, and, in a multifarious interplay of types, reach from island to island to Indonesia. There is a continental wing and an insular wing, the latter among the Malayans with the heavy lower part of their faces. Among these southern tropical forms, there appear some childlike traits of form and behaviour similar to these Southern Sinids, but now the brown component in the skin colour is predominant, the features are more marked, and all remaining Mongoloid characteristics—flat face, Mongolian eye fold, straight hair—noticeably decrease. Thereby arises an intermediate type to a third tropical primitive form, which shows no Mongoloid characteristics at all, and therefore it must be looked upon as the last southern spread of the Europoid race circle.

That is the Veddid race which is widely spread in the interior of India among the jungle peoples and which numbers millions."[115] The Palaeomongoloids are said to be an intermediate type between the Southern Sinids of China and Indo-China and the Veddas of India and Indo-China. The Southern Sinid sub-race is described as being of small stature, broader and shorter-legged than the Central Chinese. The nose is broad, depressed at the root and has a rounded tip. The lips are full and the whole face is bulbous. The colour of the skin is brownish. The area of distribution are the southern coastal provinces and Annam.[116] Did this South Sinid type originate in the fact that a greater number of distinct characteristics of body and mind were changing equally and jointly step by step, beginning from the north, across the centre to the south?[117] Did it not, as is far more likely, come about through the intermixture of the Chinese who came from the north with the native Yüo population? Be that as it may, the Mongoloid character is slightly recognizable among the Southern Sinids. Now, if as a matter of fact, "all the remaining Mongoloid characteristics noticeably decrease" among the Palaeomongoloids, if the faces are defined and no longer flat, the forehead not so high and the real slit eyes either not present at all or barely noticeable, then we affirm that this type has nothing to do with the Mongoloids. The whole complex and not individual characteristics are decisive, and this complex is certainly non-Mongoloid.

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[115] E. v. Eickstedt, Rassendynamik von Ostasien, Berlin 1944, p. 185 sq.

This race however, is preserved not only in Indo-China but also in South China, in Yun-nan, Kuei-chow and pockets over the whole of south China as far south as the Yang-tse river. It is the pre-Tai population which comprises of the Palaung, Riang, Wa, Wu-ma, Ka, etc.[118] A description given in the Chinese annals emphasises the non-Mongolian appearance: "All had magnificent hair, brown faces and possessed black eyes shaped like those of the big monkeys,"[119] *i.e.* the eyes were big and round without the Mongolian fold.

These people certainly spoke the Monkmer tongue hence they belong to the Austro-Asiatic family of languages. Many Palaeomongoloids from Indo-China and North-East India belong linguistically to this group, so that the race and the language may be said to be connected. Furthermore the Palaeomongoloids have spread from the Asiatic continent to the Indonesian islands. This is what Eickstedt calls the insular wing. In this area we have again the Austronesian language which is linked up with the Austro-Asiatic to the Austric family. Here again race and language have to be associated in some way.

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[116] op. cit. p. 183.
[117] op. cit. p. 138.
[118] op. cit. p. 201.
[119] op. cit. p. 202.

The Palaeomongoloid race could however be older than the Austric language. Heine Geldern believes that Austro-Asiatic bearers of the Somrong-sen culture were in Indo-China.[120] Geldern believes however that the Munda languages are post-Dravidic and have spread in North-East India about 4000 years ago.[121] Against this view Chatterji maintains that they are pre-Dravidic.[122] If the earliest Austro-Asiatic waves are linked with the roller-hoe-culture there are archeological proofs in support of this view.

Again in the same district of India the brachycephalic people are strongly represented. Guha believes that these cannot be explained solely through the influence of the Austro-Asiatics.

Hevesy points out elements of the Ugric language in the Munda tongue, and Hamit Kosay believes that these elements originate from Altai-Turkish which have been brought in by the Turks who "often penetrated India and held the country for a long time under Turkish rule."[123] We must bear in mind that this does not refer to the more recent Turkish attacks on India.

"Before the Aryan immigration, short-headed people from Iran are said to have penetrated India. Possibly, these are they to whom Munda owe the Turkish (Ural-Altaic) element."[124] This supposition is equivalent to saying that Altai-Turks lived in Iran about 2000 B.C. Kosay also finds an Altai-Turkish element in Elam. Hommel thinks he can detect the same elements in Sumer. Even if Altai language influences are traceable in different places that does not warrant the statement that the Turks or the pre-Turks are the originators. According to historical and prehistoric findings the Turks are a comparatively young and very strongly mixed race.[125] They are not definitely short-headed people. The Western Turks are preponderantly dolichocephalic and mesocephalic. Hence this strong, short-headed element in Northern India cannot be explained on the basis of the Turkish hypothesis. We believe that it is far more likely that this form of head came from the intermixture of races among the Indo-Chinese and Austro-Asiatic population. The Palaeomongoloids were not remarkably short-headed originally, but they became so by a process of change.

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[120] Ein Beitrag zur Chronologie des Neolithikums in Südostasien, W. Schmidt-Festschrift, Wien 1928, p. 809.

[121] op. cit. p. 830.

[122] S. K. Chatterji, The Foundation of Civilization in India, Tijdschr. voor Indish Taal, Land—en Volkenkunde, LXVIII, Batavia 1928, p. 65.

[123] U. Kosay, Türkische Elemente in den Munda-Sprache, Belleton No. 9, dan ayri basim. 107-126, Turkish and German, Istambul 1939 quoted by W. Koppers, Zum Rassen und Sprachproblem in Indien, "Die Sprache," Vienna 1949, Vol. I. p. 225.

[124] W. Koppers op. cit.

This fact is borne out by the skeletal findings of Indo-China. In the second layer of the Hosabinh culture of early neolithic times the skulls are of three different types: the strongest element of all is the Melanid, the second an East Veddid. Both types of skull are strongly "Europoid." Mongoloid traits are entirely absent. More light is thrown on the Melanesians from the findings at Pho-binh-gia, Lang-cuom, Keo-phay, Dong-thuoc, etc., and we are further enlightened about the Veddids by the neolithic finds at Tam-pong, Upper Laos, Dong-thuoc.[126] "There follows, in addition, as a third element the not very strongly traceable strain of a coarse Palaeomongoloid (more Nesid) type (near Minh-cam and Tam-hang) and beside it certain reminiscents of an Austroloid form and a few Negrito-like finds cannot be a surprise considering the place of the findings. The period represented by this Indo-Chinese racial formation could be the 8th to the 4th century B.C. to give only a few rough figures."[127] The cheek bones are more prominent, but the skull is in no way as high and as short-headed as is the case with the typical Mongolian one. Anyway the mixture of the races at this time is a variegated one, as Austroloid shaped and Negrito-like skulls have been traced, although no short skulls have been found.

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[125] M. Hermanns, Die Nomaden von Tibet, Wien 1949, 184 sq. id.; Were animals first domesticated and bred in India? Journal R.A.S. Bombay 1952, Vol. XXVII, Part II, p. 155 sq.

[126] Cfr. E. v. Eickstedt, op. cit. p. 295 sq. plate 38 b-d, fig. 100.

[127] op. cit. p. 296 sq.

Eickstedt traces the Palaeomongoloids back even further. "Let us recapitulate the principal features of the dynamic of the Asiatic Hominids towards the end of the palaeolithic period : Unrest prevailed in the sparsely occupied corridor of the Tungid northern steppes, held by the cattle breeders ; masses of growing Indid and Sinid peoples are heaped up in the culturally quickly blooming river alluvium of the Indus and Hoangho ; fast scattered Veddid tribes or Palaeomongoloid tribes of hunters or fishermen trickle through to the southern forest into a half or perhaps wholly Negroid southern people."[128]

We must bear in mind that these racial formations and movements are supposed to have occurred towards the end of the palaeolithic times and not in the mesolithic times which followed later.

We can fix the end of the palaeolithic period about 15,000 years ago. We have however no proofs that cattle breeding was practised in the Old Stone Age. We are only able to trace it back to the mesolithic times, as it spread at the beginning of the New Stone Age, from the Far East to the north of Europe. Similarly as there were no cattle breeders who could have created unrest in the steppes on the corridor of Central Asia, so also there were no great masses of Indid and Sinid peoples who could have crowded together on the Indus and the Huang-ho as early as the palaeolithic times. For if this were to be the case, it is reasonable to presume that farming would have been highly developed and agriculture would be fairly well advanced, whereas it was not so in the Old Stone Age. Moreover the Indids, the Caucasoid Indians and the Sinids, the typical Chinese, certainly did not exist at this time. The Indids and Chinese appear at a much later stage.

We have impressive proofs from the upper caves of Chou-kou-tien near Peking concerning the appearance of the upper palaeolithic inhabitants of China. The skulls of these men have well-defined brow ridges, receding foreheads, which however in comparison with that of the Sinanthropus is markedly higher. The skull is dolichocephalic and Australoid in shape. There can be no question of a "Mongoloid impression."[129] Above all, this form of skull is the opposite of the low-foreheaded, strongly brow-ridged and heavy jawed Sinanthropus skulls. It is difficult to see how from the latter, through "a gradual and step by step development and through continually stronger differentiation," the typical steep-foreheaded, short and high-headed Chinese could have originated with the upper cave men as the connecting link.[130] Eickstedt thereby presumes that the whole of ancient palaeolithic mankind was of Sinanthropus-Pithecanthropus type. We have, however, an old palaeolithic type of *Homo sapiens* form, as the Swanscombe, Fontechevade and Hotu (Iran) skulls show. The findings in the upper caves of Chou-kou-tien decidedly resemble this *Homo sapiens fossilis*.[131]

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[128] op. cit. p. 293.

We have already seen how the Europoid form still exists in Neolithic China. Even among present-day Chinese such "Western forms" occur especially in the north-west but also in other provinces.[132] In his anthropological analysis of China, Shirokogoroff introduces a type A, which is tall of stature, about 175 cm. high. The cephalic index is low, 75, and therefore dolichocephalic. The head itself is high, the nose is straight or concave and has a high index, 100. (For Kwang-tung the lack of Mongolian fold is instanced). The chief district of distribution are the north-west provinces. In Ho-pei, Shan-tung it diminishes in numbers. In An-hwei, Che-kiang, Kiang-su and Kwang-tung, it becomes rarer and disappears completely in Manchuria.[133] This "Europoid" type certainly owes much to the incoming nomadic peoples from Inner Asia, which conquered the country in course of a long period of eventful history. The heritage of palaeolithic and mesolithic times however lives on in these Europoids.

Europoid forms occur also further in South China and in Indo-China, and in India we come across once again vast districts of Europoids. The Palaeomongoloids are merely a weak decline of this type towards the Mongoloids. It is interesting to note that we find this form exactly in the transitional districts of Europoids and Sinids in North-East India, Indo-China, and South China. And so we see that in all places there has been a vast interchange between races and sub-races right back into palaeolithic times. Further prehistorical research will show whether we are in a position or not, to trace back the Palaeomongoloids to this period. (Fig. 65-73).

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[129] Eickstedt, op. cit. p. 20.
[130] op. cit. p. 21.
[131] cfr. M. Hermanns, The Origin of Man, J. R. A. S. Bombay, Vol. 27, 1953. p. 79 sq.
[132] cfr. Eickstedt, op. cit. Plate 22a.
[133] S. M. Shirokogoroff, Anthropology of Eastern-China and Kwan-tung. Shanghai 1925, 115 sq.; id. Anthropology of North China, Shanghai 1923, 99 sq.

CHAPTER VII

THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN INDO-TIBETANS AND INDIANS

(a) THE VEDIC KIRATA AND THE INDO-TIBETANS

It is a matter of common knowledge how the people of Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, and Tibet have been influenced in the shaping of their religion and culture by India. Very little, on the other hand, is known of the influence of the Tibeto-Burman group of languages on India. On our return from the Himalayan mountains we met S. K. Chatterji in Calcutta. We told him that the object of our travels was to go deep into the study of the Mongoloid problem. He immediately waxed enthusiastic and said, "Of late, I have been occupied with the same problem from the standpoint of language and culture in India. Here you have a résumé of my work." And he handed us a copy of the latest number of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal[134] which contained his contribution, "Kirata-Jana-Krti, The Indo-Mongoloids : Their contribution to the history and culture of India." Mr. Chatterji approaches the problem from the standpoint of Indian history and language, and therefore from quite a different angle as our anthropological investigation. A résumé of the results which pertain to our study is therefore presented here.

Chatterji proposes to call these people Indo-Mongoloids, like the Indo-Europeans or the Indo-Chinese. This name would indicate that all these people who belong to the Tibeto-Burman language group, possess the typical Mongolian racial characteristics, above all the slit eyes, prominent cheek bones and flat faces. This however is not the case as we have pointed out at great length above. The non-Mongoloid element is also strong among them. The expression Indo-Mongoloid is therefore very misleading as it lays emphasis on the Mongoloid element exclusively. All these people whom we are studying at the moment belong to the Tibeto-Burman group of the Sino-Tibetan language family. It would seem more appropriate to name them Indo-Tibetans.

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[134] Vol. XVI, 1950, No. 2.

That covers not merely the linguistic but also the geographic conditions and as regards race, it includes both Mongoloids and non-Mongoloids. We shall adhere to this nomenclature henceforward.

In Vedic literature, the name Kirata occurs as the name of a people or as a collective name for related non-Indian peoples. In the Shukla Yajurveda (xxx,16) and Krsna Yajurveda (111, 4, 12, 1) the name Kirata occurs for the first time and indeed in connection with human sacrifice. "A Kirata for the caves ; a Jambhaka (long toothed man ?) for the slopes ; a Kampurusa (an ugly man, a wild man or an ape ?) for the mountains."[135] In the Atharvaveda (x, 4, 14) a Kirata maid is mentioned as a digger of medicinal roots in the mountains. Several attempts have been made to give the etymology of the name Kirata : "Those who move—atanti—along the mountain sides, or are in bad, dirty places, kira "; or "those who move about talking gibberish, kira or killa"; or "those living on the frontiers." But all these etymological derivations are mere speculations. It is certainly the rendering of a foreign name in a Sanskrit transcript. In modern Indo-Aryan Kirata is given the meaning of "Bad Person," "Robber," "Merchant" and is mostly used by merchants and money lenders. Thus we see that the Indo-Aryans use the name of a non-Aryan people in a bad sense an example which is spread widely throughout the world. The Chinese use the name Mān-dse to insult the people of the south, and Fān-dse to insult the people of the north-west. In Europe the word gypsy and pollack are misused in this way. Kirata has been used in this abusive sense from the time of the Brahmanas.[136]

But it could not have been used in the abusive sense alone, for it happens in the saga that Shiva Mahadeva takes the form of a Kirata and his wife Uma the figure of a Kirata woman in order to tempt Arjuna, who was performing acts of penance in the Himalayan mountains.[137] This fact suggests that the Kirata lived in the Himalayas ; for when figures such as those appeared before Arjuna he would not consider the

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135. Chatterji, op. cit. 162.
136. 8-7th century B.C. op. cit. p. 162 sq.
137. op. cit. p. 165.

appearance unusual and would not even remotely suspects that the figures were Shiva and Uma in disguise. It is then clearly laid down from the Yajurveda onwards that the Kirata settled in the mountains of North and North-East India. The Mahabharata records the Kirata as living in the Eastern Himalayas : "Then the Pandava hero, O son of Kunti, coming in the Vaideha land close to Indra Mountains, defeated the seven Kirata rulers."[138] And further : "Those kings who are in the other half of the Himalayas and in the mountains of the East (Sunrise mountains) in Karusa by the end (edge) of the sea, and beside the Lauhitya (Luhit or Upper Brahmaputra river), those who are moreover Kirata living on fruits and roots, clad in skins, fierce with their weapons, cruel in their deeds, them I saw, O Lord ; and loads of sandal and gold and of aromatic shrubs".[139] This is a description of the mountain people whose civilization has not advanced beyond the hunting and collecting level. In contrast to the dark and black pre-Aryan inhabitants they are described as yellow, "golden."[140] The yellow skin colouring is certainly strikingly different from the dark and black non-Aryans and the brownish Aryans, and this difference still exists today as we showed above.

It is very interesting and instructive to note the various peoples with whom the Kirata are brought into contact, *e.g.* the Yavana, Shaka, Pallava of the west and above all with the Cina (Chinese) of the east. "The Pragjyotisa (king) was there, surrounded by Kiratas and Cinas (Chinese) and with many other warriors dwelling by the coast of the sea."[141] The yellow skin colouring of the Kirata and Cina is always striking.[142] The Ramayana gives a more exact description of the Kirata, "The Kirata, with their hair done in pointed top-knots, pleasant to look upon shining like gold, able to move under water, terrible, veritable tigermen, so are they famed."[143] Other passages give a similar description of the people. Even the

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[138] Sabhaparvan 26, 32.
[139] Sabha 52, 8 sq.
[140] op. cit. IV 35, 2 and 17/18.
[141] Shaba 26, 9.
[142] Mahabharata V, 584.
[143] Kiskindhya Kanda 40, 27, 28.

Greeks, describing the Indian peoples in the Periplus of the Erythraen sea, mention the Kirrhadai as a "race of people with flat noses, very wild," who live on the other side of Dosarene (Dasharna), in the neighbourhood of Bargysoi (Bhargas). Chatterji follows up with this account, "From the above account it would appear that during the centuries immediately before Christ, and in the early Christian centuries, the Kiratas were known to the Hindu world as a group of peoples whose original home was in the Himalayan slopes and in the mountains of the east, in Assam particularly, who were yellow in colour and presented a distinct type of culture. They had spread all over the plains of Bengal up to the sea, and appear to have penetrated as far as West Bengal. They were rich with all the natural wealth of minerals and forest produce with which the mountains and hills and jungles where they lived abounded, but they were adepts in the art of weaving cloth (as their descendants still are), the cotton and woollen fabrics they made being very much in demand among the more civilised Hindus of the plains.

We may be permitted to reconstruct the picture of Kirata of the early Mongoloid movements on the soil of India right down to the beginning of the Christian era. They entered the country probably through Assam, and their advent in the east might have been as old as that of the Aryans in the west, at some period before 1000 B.C. By that time they might have pushed along the Himalayan slopes as far west as the Eastern Punjab Hills. They came to be known to the Vedic Aryans as a cave-dwelling people from whom the Aryans obtained mountain produce like drugs and herbs and the soma plant. The four books of the Vedas were compiled in all likelihood in the 10th century B.C. so that the passages in the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda mentioning the Kiratas are at least as old as that period. When the Mahabharata and the Ramayana were taking shape, between 500 B.C. to 400 A.D., particularly in the pre-Christian centuries, they had occupied the southern tracts of the Himalayas and the whole of North-Eastern India, North Bihar contiguous to Nepal and to the north of the Ganges, the greater part of Bengal and Assam, including the areas through which the Ganges (the Padma or Padda of the present day) passed into the sea. Eastern Nepal and Lauhita or the Brahmaputra valley were the lands specially connected with them."[144]

(*b*) OTHER INDO-TIBETAN PEOPLES

In addition to the Kiratas there are still many more tribes supposedly of Indo-Tibetan origin, but who, through the influence of the Aryans, lost their independence and their language. "Among the ancient peoples of Eastern India were the Licchavis. They were a powerful and very well advanced clan of North Bihar who claimed to be (and their claim was also generally recognised) Kshatriyas. They flourished in the time of Buddha, and their prestige was still great nearly 800 years later in the time of the early Gupta emperors. Some scholars believe that the Licchavis were Indo-Mongoloids, already Aryanised in speech, although they retained a good many of their original Tibeto-Burman ways. Their tribal name had certainly a non-Aryan ring, and they had a number of peculiar customs which suggested Tibeto-Burman affinities.[145] This is however a disputed statement. Nevertheless we may quite legitimately postulate the settlement of the plains, North Bihar (as much North Bengal and Assam) by the Sino-Tibetan tribes, in the midst of the early Austrics and Dravidians ; and all those non-Aryan speakers (with a submerged Austric element dominating in the long run, judging from the evolution of the Maithili speech in the matter of Pronominalisation) were combined into one Aryan-speaking people of North Bihar after the Aryan language and the Vedic religion came from the west, across the Sadanira or Gomti river, into Vidhega or Videha sometime before 600 B.C."[146]

The Licchavis are not to be found on Indian soil alone, but also in Nepal, where a Licchavi dynasty ruled from about 350 to 879 A.D. This fact points out more clearly to their Indo-Tibetan origin, which is not in any way disproved by regarding them as Kshatriyas. "The claim of the Kshatriyahood made by all these tribes is not at all proof of their pure

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[144] op. cit. p. 166 sq.
[145] cfr. Indian Antiquary, 1903, p. 233 note by V. A. Smith.
[146] op. cit. 169.

Aryan origin. The non-Aryan origin or affinities of the Licchavis (along with the Mallas and the Khasas, who were in later times well known as Mongoloid or mixed peoples of Nepal and of the lands to its west) is hinted at by Manu (X, 22) who declared them to be Vratyas or debased Kshatriyas. Brahmanical orthodoxy, as typified by Manu, refused to be influenced here by the power and pre-eminence of the Licchavis."[147] It is quite probable that the Shakya, Koliya, Vryi or Vajji, Moriya and others were like the Licchavis descended from Mongoloid stock or from mixed peoples with a strong Mongoloid element, who have later on adopted the Aryan language.[148]

This finding throws an interesting light on cultural and religious developments, to which we shall allude at a later stage.

Another Indo-Tibetan tribe which gained importance in North-East India are the Bodo. After the Turks conquered North and West Bengal (1198 A.D.), they fell on Kamarupa (1205 A.D.) and met with stubborn resistance. In his work "Tabaqat-i-Nasiri" the Persian historian Minhaju-s-Siraj writes that the inhabitants of Kamarupa were the Kwne, Myj and Th'rw (Koch, Mech and Tharu). The Turks were inclined to believe that these tribes were their racial relations with "Turkish appearance" whose language was quite different from that of the Indians.[149] The Turks found here a people who resembled themselves, but who stood in deep contrast to the Indians from the standpoint of both race and language. The very fact that these tribes were able to stand up against the Turkish invaders and ward them off, proves beyond the shadow of any doubt that they had been firmly rooted in the land for a long time. "But the fact of the Indo-Mongoloids assuming power over the mixed Hindu people of North Bengal indicates the organisation and vitality of these people as early as the 10th century."[150] The Bodo people acquired great importance. "The Eastern Bodos (Chutiyas and Kacharis) and the Western Bodos (the Koches of Hajo and Kamata and of Koch Bihar) disputed the possession of the Brahmaputra valley with the Ahoms ; and the Western Bodos asserted themselves against the decadent Palas and Senas and resisted the Mohammedans, during 1250 to 1500 A.D.

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[147] See Sylvain Lévi, Le Nepal, Vol. I, pp. 87, 88 (op. cit. p. 180).
[148] op. cit. p. 180.
[149] op. cit. p. 199.
[150] op. cit. p. 207.

A number of Koch chieftainships or principalities appear to have been in occupation of the entire country from the Bharali to the Tista and Karatoya rivers beyond, probably also including Dinjapur District during 1250 to 1500 A.D. A dynasty of considerable power, the Khen or Khyan dynasty, established itself at Kamatapur in the first half of the fifteenth century, under a chief called Nila-dhwaja. He built his capital city, the ruins of which, extending over a circumference of 19 miles, are found near the Dharla river. Nila-dhwaja is said to have actively worked for the hinduization of his people, although he fought and overthrew the last section of the Pala family of Bengal. The Khens claim to be Kayasthas but it would appear they are Indo-Mongoloid in their affinity. Nila-dhwaja was succeeded by his son Cakra-dhwaja, and after him came his son Nilambara who was quite an able and powerful ruler. But he was defeated and his kingdom was annexed by the Bengal Sultan Husain Shah in 1498."[151] Another Koch state was set up under the leadership of Haria in Goalpura. Bishu, his son, expanded the possession left him by his father, drove the Moslems out of Kamata, and united the chieftains under his rule. (1496-1533-1540 ?) His successor was Nara-narayana, under whom the state reached the zenith of its power. "All this makes him one of the greatest kings of India, a worthy contemporary of Akbar, and a pre-eminent personage even among Indo-Mongoloids."[152] Although he strove to enhance Hindu influence among his people, he did not curtail the powers of the Bodo priests, but helped them to make progress.

The kingdom was later divided among his heirs and was subsequently overcome by the Mogul and Ahom. The majority of the people have continued to remain Bodo up to the present day. "Brahmans and other Western Hindu settlements in North Bengal appear to have been scanty, and it

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151. op. cit. p. 207.
152. op. cit. p. 210.

has been mainly during the recent centuries that Brahmans and 'Caste Hindus' have felt attracted to North Bengal districts like Jalpaiguri, Dinajpur, Rangpur and the state of Koch Bihar. The masses of the North Bengal area are very largely of Bodo origin, or mixed Austric-Dravidian-Mongoloid where groups of peoples from lower Bengal and Bihar have penetrated among them. They can now be mainly described as Koch, *i.e.* Hinduized or semi-Hinduized Bodo who have abandoned their original Tibeto-Burman speech and have adopted the Northern dialect of Bengal (which has close affinity with Assamese)."[153] The Meche and Kachari, whom we have mentioned above, have preserved their individuality to a better degree. The Garo of the Garo hills, the Haijong in Maimansing, the Tripura and the inhabitants of the North Cachar hills and in the district of Nowgong are also Bodo tribes—the remains of a once widely spread people.

The Indo-Tibetans living in North-East India are not the only ones who played an important role in the formation of these districts. It is also the influence which operated from Nepal (as we have already indicated) which primarily strengthened the cultural element of the place. Marriage ties brought some of the ruling classes of Nepalese families into close and intimate relationships with Indian people. Somadeva, at the beginning of the 8th century A.D., chose his wife from the Maukhari family of the later Gupta. His son, Jaya-deva, married the daughter of Harsha-deva from the royal family of Bhagadatta. "We have thus two of the important Hindu Mongoloid kingdoms in Northern and North-Eastern India united by matrimony as early as the middle of the 8th century A.D. Similar inter-marriages among the Indo-Mongoloid princely families have taken place later on."[154] It is known well enough which cultural influences are thus united. It is rather an exchange and interchange of cultural advantages that took place in North India and Nepal.

Even Tibet, which is deeply indebted to India for a number of reasons, has contributed its share towards the

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153. op. cit. p. 205.
154. op. cit. p. 184.

shaping the political destiny of India. In 648 A.D. the Chinese ambassador, Wang-suän-dse, journeyed across Tibet to the Indian king, Harsha Shiladitya of Kanang, whom the Chinese pilgrim, Suän-dsang, had already previously visited. When the embassy arrived at its destination, Harsha was dead and Arjuna, the usurper, reigned in his stead. Arjuna paid no heed to the Chinese ; the outraged Tibetan king, Srong-btzan-sgam-po, despatched in consequence a punitive expedition which conquered the town of Tirabhuti and took Arjuna prisoner. A few North Indian kingdoms have been dependent on Tibet ever since. Khri-srong-lde-btzan built up the Tibetan empire at the time of the Pala dynasty in Bengal, and Tibetan influence lasted until the death of the king, Ral-pa-can in 836 A.D.

Western Tibetan influences were also felt in India. "The Kunindas, an ancient Eastern Punjab hill people, are believed to have been of mixed Indo-Aryan and Indo-Mongoloid origin—Indo-Mongoloid on the mother's side and Indo-Aryan on the father's. The Kunindas were an important Aryan speaking tribe in Eastern Punjab in the centuries round about Christ. Their descendants now form the considerable Kunet community of the Simla Hills (57% of the total inhabitants, 285,741 persons out of a total population of 501,300 in the area, according to the census of 1871) and there were some 400,000 Kunets in Trans-Satlaj areas between the Bias and the Satlaj, and in the states of Kahlur, Mandi and Suket.[155] Cunningham, in his study of the area inhabited by the Kuninda-Kunet peoples, suggested the presence of Sino-Tibetan (Tibeto-Burman) and Austric (Kol) elements in names of rivers and other physical features...

It is therefore, quite likely that there was an Indo-Mongoloid substratum even in North-Eastern Punjab, and this substratum quite possibly persisted from the first batch of 'Himalayan' Indo-Mongoloids."[156] As Punjab was the gateway of Aryan invasion, the Indo-Tibetan element could not exert its potency to the same extent as it did in North Bengal.

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[155] cfr. Alexander Cunningham, Archaelogical Survey of India, Vol. XIV 1878-1879, p. 125 sq.

[156] op. cit. 171.

(c) The Linguistic Influence

The above mentioned contact and intermixture of Indo-Tibetans, Indo-Aryans, Austro-Asiatics and Dravidians is evident also in the linguistic sphere. We have noted oftentimes that the Indo-Tibetans, who had been absorbed, adopted the Aryan language. In other cases the Austro-Asiatic language was dominant as was the case with the Khasi. We have come across cases in which the influence of the Austro-Asiatics is evidenced among the Indo-Tibetans. Some of the Tibeto-Burman languages have lost their original purity and exhibit traces of the so-called pronominalisation—the coupling of the pronoun within the verb, *e.g.* the Limbu "peg-ang" means "go I" instead of "I go"; "hip-tu-ang" means "hit him I" instead of "I hit him." This incorporation of the pronoun within the verb is however typical of the Kol or Munda languages and is absolutely un-Tibetan. This interlocking of the pronouns shows itself in two groups ; the eastern and the western. To the eastern group belong the Limbu, Rai, Thami, Yakha, Dhimal, Vayu, etc. ; to the western belong the Kanawari (spoken near Simla), the Lahul and nine other dialects. ". . . . this fact shows very early contact with Austric speakers in Himalayan tracts, and the presence of such Austric speakers could only have been a very ancient thing in India, probably going back to pre-Christian times. This Kol or Austric characteristic having invaded their language proves more than anything else the antiquity of the Kirantis. The speakers of the 'Pronominalised Himalayan' language number (census of 1931) 114,000 souls, of whom 26,000 speak Kanauri and other western languages of the group, and 88,000 the eastern Kiranti, etc."[157] It is striking how both these groups are separated and surrounded by uninfluenced dialects.

The Newar, Mangar, Gurung, Dhamang (Murmi), Sunwar, Rong[158] belong to the pure uncorrupted dialects. It is remarkable that the Rong (Lepchas) belong linguistically to the pure races. That bears further testimony to their ancient origin, (we have already demonstrated this with regard to their culture and religion) and their long preserved

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157. op. cit. p. 169.

158. Chatterji erroneously includes the Kiranti here; op. cit. 158.

independence. This precludes the possibility that the non-Mongoloid element of the Lepcha's physical anthropology could have originated from the Austro-Asiatics. We have given below in tabular form the various dialects in the Tibeto-Burman group, in order to expel the confusion that prevails concerning the connections among them. (p. 141)

The influence of Austro-Asiatic languages is obvious in some of the Indo-Tibetan dialects. Conversely, the influence of Indo-Tibetan languages on Indian dialects can be felt as for example, in the *lingua franca* of Nepal, Khaskura. The fact does not, however, occasion surprise, as this Aryan language penetrated a district which was entirely populated by people who spoke languages closely related to Tibetans. The same can also be said of the situation in Bihar, Assam and Bengal. "In Assam they (Indo-Tibetans) dominated the scene, politically mostly, and to some extent culturally also (although in matters of culture including religion, the composite Hindu culture of the Ganges has always had the outward victory). Excepting the members of a few of the higher castes from the West (and these are as much a mixed Austric-Dravidian-Aryan as any), the masses of the people are Indo-Mongoloid with some Austric and Dravidian substratum. The Indo-Mongoloid inheritance therefore belongs in a special manner to the people of Assam as to the people of Nepal, irrespective of the Aryan language they may speak. In the development of the Aryan Assamese language (as, also, of the Khas-kura or Gorkhali, and to some extent of Bengali particularly in its eastern dialects) the influence of the Bodo and Naga as well as that of the late Ahom language is noticed. The Austric Khasi speech of the Indo-Mongoloid Khasis and Syntengs (Jaintias) has similarly influenced the contiguous Aryan. Prof. Banikanta Kakati, in his invaluable work 'Assamese, its Formation and Development'[159] has discussed the matter and has given lists of words and toponyms of Khasi (and other Austric) origin, and also of Bodo and Ahom origin in Assamese (pp. 32-56). A good number of Assamese words of Indo-Mongoloid provenance are also to be found in Bengal. At least one syntactical device in Bengali and Assamese was due to Bodo

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[159] Gauhati, Assam 1941.

The dialects of the Tibeto-Burmese in the Sino-Tibetan language family :

Tibeto-Burman :

1. *Tibetan*	2. *Himalayan Group*	3. *Assam-Burman Group*	4. *North-Assam Group*
a. *West-Tibet* (mNga ris skor gsum) Balti, Purig. Sam, Leh, Ladak, Spiti.	a. *Pure dialects* Newar, Mangar, Gurung, Dhamang (Murmi), Sunwar, Rong (Lepcha), Toto,	a. *Bodo-Naga* 1. Bodo language Kachari, Meche, Garo, Rabha, Tipra, Koch. 2. Naga language Ao, Angami, Sema, Tangkhul, Songtem.	Aka, Abor, Mire, Dafla, Mishmi.
b. *South-Tibet* (South Himalaya) Shar pa (Nepal) Den jong ke (Sikkim Bhodja) Lho ke (Bhutan Bhodja).	b. *Mixed dialects* 1. East dialects: Rai, Limbu, Thami, Dhimal. 2. West Dialects : Kanawari. Kanashi, Manchati, Bunan, Rangkas, Darmiya, Caudangsi, Byangsi.	b. *Kuki-Chin* Meithi (Manipur) Lushei Mills, Tripura.	
c. *Central Tibet* dBus, gTzang, etc. dialects.		c. *Kachin-Lolo* Lolo-Kachin or Singpho	
d. *South-East Tibet* (*Khams*) Ta tsien lu, Ci ku, Ngan sun kuan, Der ge, Nang chen.		d. *New Burman* Myamma, Byamma Arakan.	
e. *North-East Tibet* (*A mdo*) mThzo sngon po, dPa ris, rMa chu, Go log Co ne, etc.			
f. *North Tibet* Byang thang dialect.			

influence, as has been suggested by the late T. D. Anderson.[160] A close study of the evolution of Bengali and Assamese syntax, in comparison with the Bodo (and Khasi) speeches particularly, is sure to reveal further and surer points of contact between Indo-Aryan and Indo-Mongoloids."[161] Since the linguistic influence of the Indo-Tibetans was so strong it is in no way surprising that an effective religious-cultural influence was exercised at the same time ; and it is but natural that in such strongly mixed zones there existed side by side some special religious and cultural forms about which it is not easy to decide whether the dominating element is Indo-Tibetan or Indo-Aryan.

(*d*) THE SPIRITUAL INFLUENCE

The home of Buddha laid between the Himalayan foothills and the middle course of the Tapti river in the present district of Gorakpur. In this locality the Shakyas ruled over a little state and were, like other noble families (Kshatriya), proud and self-conscious. They were not, however, a royal family as the Buddhist legend makes them out to be. The contrast between them and the Brahmins was emphasised greatly. "Brahmins, who had come into the guild hall of the Shakya, used to say of it, how little the arrogance of these worldly nobles was inclined to take notice of the claims of spiritual dignity."[162] Was that a mere reference to the contrast of castes or had racial differences something to do with it? The home of Gautama laid within the sphere of Indo-Tibetan influence. If we suppose that racial differences had something to do in the matter, we are in a better position to understand some of the manifestations in the religion founded by the famous son of Shakya. The overbearing pride of race and caste was typically Aryan, and it admitted of no contact with the outcaste. "Of course, difference of caste ceased among those who had become Buddha's disciples....Thus the clerical dress of Buddha's disciples made slave and master, Brahmin and Shudra, equal."[163] It is true that the ascetics (Samana) had already broken the constraining bonds of caste before the advent of Buddha. Gautama, however, turned from the "Path of the Ascetics" and introduced into his community the equality of all men. The Aryan religious (ascetics) wore long hair and beards while the Buddhist monks were clean shaven. The Aryans slept on a high bedstead ; the disciples of Buddha on the bare floor. When the son of Shakya termed his eightfold path to redemption as "Aryan," it did not connote the racial aspect, but signified superiority. Buddha broke away completely from the Vedic religion, the traditional sacrificial customs, the language of the ritual and the pronouncement. "Buddha discredited the existence of sacrifice ; with bitter irony he lashed the written Vedic teachings as empty foolishness, if not as an impudent swindle ; he handed no more gently the Brahmin haughtiness of caste."[164] There is no evidence to prove that the Brahmins put up any great opposition to the new teaching. The rival ascetic sects who pursued similar aims were more dangerous. The language used by Buddha and his disciples was not the classical Sanskrit but the regional dialect.[164a]

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[160] In the pronounced preference for the conjunctive verb-form : see Chatterji, Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, Calcutta, 1926, p. 1011.

[161] S. K. Chatterji, op. cit. p. 190 sq.

[162] H. Oldenberg, Buddha, Stuttgart-Berlin 1923, p. 117.

In the Buddhist sources six great teachers are mentioned. The very fact that in these mixed districts so many sects came into being shows again that Brahmanism in North-East India did neither occupy the prominent position nor wield that influence which it did in Kuru-Pancallas and other districts of the west, which belonged to the old home of the Veda. We shall refrain from going so far as to declare Gautama to be an Indo-Tibetan, but we have no hesitation in saying that he was a child of his times and product of an environment, that is productive of a character that is strongly mixed with deeply potential Indo-Tibetan elements. The fact that the Shakya family belongs to the Kshatriyas, certainly does not establish their Aryan origin. The contrary is more likely to be the case. As mentioned earlier, the noble non-Aryans were accepted through the Kshatriya caste into the Aryan community. Such transfer rites have been extant up to very recently.

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163. H. Oldenberg, op. cit. p. 170 sq.

164. H. Oldenberg, op. cit. p. 193.

164a Fr. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary, New Haven, 1953.

"In 1790, the Kachari king Krishna Candra and his brother Govinda obtained from the Brahmans a formal declaration that they were Kshatriyas, descended from Bhima, after performing a ceremony of passing through a copper effigy of a cow, and a pedigree of the royal line upto Bhima was found for them."[165] The Maharajas of Travancore, even to this day, use to undergo the same ritual in order to advance from a lower caste into the higher Kshatriya caste.

One of the rivals and opponents of Buddha was Mahavira. He was born in Vaisala in the north of Patna, a place not very far from the home of Gautama. Mahavira descended from Parshva, who perhaps lived in this district in the middle of the 8th century B.C. and who was the founder of the Jaina sect. The Mahavira school of thought professed principles that ran parallel to those of Buddhism ; it was not lawful to take human life nor even the life of animals ; people had to be truthful, respect the property of strangers, practise chastity, and renounce personal possessions. In contrast with the tenets of the old Buddhism, asceticism played an important role in the life of the Jains as a means of redemption and as a safeguard against re-birth. The teaching of the "Overcomer" (subduer, Jina-Jaina) is still effective in India today, and the more so among the educated. The message of the "Enlightened," Buddha, on the contrary, is extinguished in his homeland today, but has its strongest footholds among Mongoloid peoples. We would not like to go so far as to see in this a Mongoloid "Heriditary disposition" to Buddhism as Chatterji does. "It may be questioned if the response given to Buddha by the Mongoloid people of South-Eastern Asia, and of Tibet, Mongolia, China, Korea and Japan had something racial behind it at least partially."[166] He certainly goes beyond bounds when he maintains that the belief of the Tibeto-Burmese (that man possesses more than one soul) has given rise to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. "The Mongoloid belief, which is noticeable among many primitive tribes speaking Tibeto-Burman and other Sino-Tibetan languages, in man possessing more than one soul may well have assisted the evolution of the idea of metempsychosis in India."[167] Even if we grant that the primitive Indo-Aryans like the original Europoids had not as yet made their acquaintance with the teachings of the Karma and the Samsara, yet we must concede that the growth of their ideas in India progressed very rapidly. "Whether the influence of the non-Aryan population of India contributed to the development of this belief in the transmigration of souls cannot definitely be determined. That it is possible to explain this development alone by the course which the thinking or phantasy of the Brahmins had taken, I consider to be without doubt."[168] The belief in the transmigration of souls is widespread, but in literature it can be traced only to about 800 B.C. The idea that the souls of the dead enter animals, plants and stars is found in the Rigveda. "From thence to the belief in the transmigration of souls, which we are treating here and to the belief in the endless wandering of all (at least of all unredeemed) souls through innumerable existences and immeasurable periods of time, is, however, again a long way."[169] This typical transmigration of souls seems to "appear not long before the teaching of the eternal One in Vedic texts."[170] Sanjana confirms in a recent publication the later development of the idea of transmigration.[171]

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[165] S. K. Chatterji, op. cit. p. 213.
[166] op. cit. p. 181.

The situation in Greece can be easily grasped from the words of Nillson, "With certainty it can be said that this teaching came to the fore in Greece at the latest in Archaic times ; from whence it came and from whom it was first proclaimed, that is the subject of lively discussion. The point of view held very generally, that this teaching originates from Pythagorean circles, is not right and, as far as the Orphics are concerned, it is not thus attributed in the oldest testimonies. Plato, for example, in whose philosophy the acceptance of the immortal soul is fundamental, where he speaks of the transmigration of souls, appeals to an old saying and to the priests and priestesses who held the idea much at heart, as well as to the poet truly inspired by God.[172] The doctrine of the transmigration of souls was taught in the mysteries, and, indeed, in this connection is closely related especially to the most widely spread of all the Orphics. Pherekydes of Syros is named as its author. But the first witness for us is Pindar, who was much occupied by the teaching of the transmigration of souls."[173] The Greek mysteries are connected with those of the Near East. Perhaps this typical teaching of the transmigration of souls has come from the Near East further east to India, and to the west towards Greece, and it is also connected with Shamanism.

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[167] op. cit. p. 182.
[168] cfr. H. Oldenberg, op. cit. p. 47, note 1.
[169] H. Oldenberg, op. cit. cfr. Die Religion des Veda, p. 561 sq.
[170] op. cit. p. 46.
[171] J. E. Sanjana, The Dogma of Reincarnation, Bombay, 1954.

There are many preliminary stages to this conception of souls among primitive peoples ; the rebirth of the dead in children, or in animals, or in ghosts. At this juncture we must keep in mind the totemistic ideas of the hunting peoples according to which a strong connection exists between men and certain animals. These and similar ideas however do not have any value among the Tibeto-Burman peoples as we saw for example among the Rong. Their pristine beliefs have not to this hour developed into a doctrine of the transmigration of souls. Only those Lepchas who have been influenced by Buddhism are aware of it. Such ideas were also unknown among the old Tibetans before they came into contacts with Buddhism (for the first time in the 7th century A.D.). The same can be said of the Chinese as we can prove from our study of this people who say that man possesses three souls and seven ghosts. But it does not follow that the belief of the Sino-Tibetans (that man has more than one soul) has been especially effectual in the development of the teaching of the transmigration of souls.

The central region of movements, which were called "non-Aryan," was the district where the Indo-Aryans mixed with the Indo-Tibetans, and this has been true not only of the times of Gautama and Mahavira but, all down the centuries, has continued to be so until very recent times. Only two other important movements need to be mentioned: Tantrism and the Shakti cult.

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[172] Plato, Phaed, p. 70. C ; Men. p. 81. AF.

[173] M. P. Nillson, Geschichte der Griechischen Religion, p. 654 sq.

Tantrism is the belief in secret words and spells which have a magical significance and strong magical potency. This belief is certainly not new in the history of mankind. The Brahman texts contain words like om, hum, phat, khat. In Tantrism these magic spells are incorporated into an occult system and constitute a secret science. Secret rites play a major part in this system and form a kind of mystery religion. The teaching is contained in the books called the Tantras, which form the greatest part of the Agama literature. The books set forth a magical conception of the world (Magische Weltanschauung)in which magical effects are produced through the utterance of mystic words and sentences, (Mantras), and through certain gestures of the hands (Mudras). It is through the secret teaching of the rites and through the performance of the sacred ceremonies, that the believers hope to achieve contact with the Transcendental Being. In general these books are supposed to have supernatural origin. They are said to be hidden in caves and other hiding places by spirits, demons or former saints, and will remain so until the time is ripe for mankind to receive these doctrines.

In their present form these works date back to second half or the end of the first millennium A.D., but they comprise traditions which originate from early Indian sects. The classic country of these Sectarians is Bengal and the adjoining districts, in which the last comprehensive Tantra, the "Kalacakra" (Time-Wheel), was compiled. In order that the book might be held in higher esteem, the legend relates that in the last year of his life Buddha himself instructed king Sucandra of the mysterious country Shambala in the north. Mankind, however was not prepared for the teaching in those early days and it remained hidden until 960 A.D. The Bengali Pandit Atisha, who was the master of this teaching, brought it to Tibet in 1039 A.D. and there linked it up with astronomy. Tibet became the classic land of Tantras, but they are also widely prevalent in India. "The influence of the Agamas or Tantras, as they are more familiarly known, on Indian life has been profound. The living Hindu religion of today, from Cape Comorin to the remotest corners of Tibet, is essentially Tantric. Even the few genuine Vedic rites that are preserved and are supposed to be derived straight from the Vedas, *e.g.*

the Sandhya, have been modified by the addition of Tantric practices. Equally profound has been the influence of the Agamas on the development of Vedanta Philosophy. Sankara was a professed Sakta and his advaita exposition of the Vedanta, though overtly independent of the Sakta Agamas, is influenced by Tantric theories and his discipline by Tantric practices."[174]

Tantrism has gained connections with the Shakti cult. In the Shakti cult goddesses, representing the female power Shakti, form the central hub of the cosmology and are an essential factor in the economy of redemption. According to Shakti philosophy, the solitary formless Brahma is revealed as Shakti-Shakta, a female-male combination, and as such is common to all gods, spirits, men and material objects. This theophany is often depicted in very strange forms and the Shakti cult stands in striking contrast to this metaphysical idea.

Sexual cults also have a part to play in the cultural economy of certain Indian peoples. These cults were supposed to exist as early as the neolithic Mohenjodaro culture in 2500 B.C. The Vedic Aryans were also acquainted with erotic rites as the Ashvamedha sacrifice demonstrates. In the process of subsequent developments they are principally connected with the Durga cult. In the hymns of Mahabharata the goddess Durga is already highly honoured ; but through teachings Durga was finally elevated to be the highest principle of the world, and men strove to attain union with her through ritual sexual relationships. Not only Indian tantrics but also Tibetan monks (the old Nying-ma as well as the reformed dGe-lug sects) inflamed their imaginations at the beginning of contemplation by the (mental) picture of beautiful women. The woman so considered was, according to Lamaistic precepts, to be sixteen years of age and in the flower of her youth. These theoretical considerations had to be brought to term by practical experience. This new secret doctrine not only states "that the enjoyment of love under the right spiritual attitude need not be a hindrance, but it even represents the viewpoint, that under certain conditions coition is a beneficial act. For the Yogi, who is not compelled by animal instinct, but through recognition of the transcendental and thus completes the union with a woman who was spiritually prepared and ritually consecrated by performance of special ceremonies, is the dvayendriasamapatti (the joining of the two organs) the symbol of the highest secret of the world and an anticipation of the joy of the All-One-Absolute....

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[174] P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, Outline of Indian Philosophy, Benaras-London, 1909, p. 130.

The fact that all important advocates of the cult originated from Bengal and neighbouring districts, thus from districts with a strong Mongoloid strain, makes it probable that these teachings first came into being there—at least found there their most favourable nurturing ground."[175] The Yogini Tantra, a more recent work, places on record the holy places of the Shakti and their ceremonies, "O Queen of all Siddhas (Uma) in the holy shrine of the Yogini (*i.e.* Kamarupa), the dharma (ritual of religion) is considered to be of Kirata origin."[176] One can understand the desire to blame the non-Aryan elements for the frightful manifestations of the Durga cult; the practice of the Kaulas who use bloody sacrifice of men and animals; the drunken orgies and sexual excesses; or the horrifying rites of the murderous sect of the Thags. These abuses and excesses are manifestations of a mixed culture in which Aryan elements are present. Among uninfluenced Mongoloid peoples there is no important cult of a mother goddess, who has to be propitiated through the performances of sexual rites. Such ideas are foreign to the Rong, nor are they to be found among the old Tibetans and Chinese. We know that Padmasambhava, who came to Tibet in 747 A.D. and who was responsible for the spread of the Shakti Vajrayana, was not even deterred from raping the queen, and was subsequently expelled from the country by the opposing party. This great Tantric teacher had developed his system in Gaya and Nalanda which is important because of its connection with Buddha. He was therefore acquainted with these ideas in North India.[177] He then came to Udyana (Gandhara).

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[175] H. Glasenapp, Buddhistische Mysterien, Stuttgart 1940, p. 39. sq.

[176] B. Kakati, The mother Goddess Kamakhya, Gauhati 1948, p. 111 ; cfr. Chatterji, op. cit. 167.

This district as far as Kashmir was regarded as a Tantric stronghold. There existed in North-West India a mixed culture similar to that in the northeast. The Buddhistic Mahayana school had arisen from the sphere of the Indo-Scythian influences with their manifold Greek, Gnostic, Iranian-Zoroastrian, and finally Christian and Manichean streams. This school took up Tantra and Shakti to their zenith and spread the teaching far and wide. Two great Tantrics of a similar kind were Tilo and Naro (924-1039 A.D.). They wielded a very strong influence and were the most famous Mahasiddhas of the school of learned monks at Nalanda in Bihar. These great magicians got their magic powers through Dakinis, air demons, who of course, were incarnated as beautiful women. The Tibetan Marpa, the pupil of Naro, brought this doctrine to Tibet and implanted it there through the medium of the bKa-rgud-pa school. This is another proof that the Tibetans borrowed such ideas and practices from the Indians. The Mongoloid peoples cannot be held responsible for the origin of these things. Rather it is more correct to say that the mixture of several cultures has been their cause. We come across a similar phenomenon in the Near East in the Hierduloi at the temples. These arose from the sultriness of different mixed cultures and were known even in Greece.

The Indo-Tibetans, moreover, are made responsible for the bloody sacrifice of animals. In late Vedic times, sacrifices of sheep, goats, cows, bulls and horses were arranged and these took up a number of days. The Vedic Shulagavya sacrifice, even in the rite of killing and the role played by the master of the sacrifice and of his wife, is said to have surprising similarities with the bull and Mithan sacrifices of the Ao-Nagas. These similarities which have been stressed are not to be found among the primitive Tibeto-Burmese, as the above descriptions of the Rong sacrifice of the bull indicate. It is quite probable therefore that the rites of the Ao-Nagas have been borrowed from the Hindus. In the Indian Ashvamedha sacrifice the stallion is surrounded by numerous

[177] A. Grünwedel, Mythologie du Buddhisme, Paris-Leipzig, 1900, p. 52.

other animal offerings. In the Rigveda[178] admittedly only the goat is mentioned as the supposed announcer of the sacrifice to the gods. If the offering of numerous animals is regarded as a later embellishment, it need not be attributed merely to Indo-Tibetan influence, for it could very well be the outcome of a natural development of the Indian sacrifice. It is essential for the king and his wife to take part in the sacrifice. The king's wife must lie with the slaughtered animal and be covered with the same robe that covers the animal and she has to take the penis of the horse into her lap.

The killing of the "four-eyed" dog is also connected with this rite. Thus we see that the killing of numerous sacrificial animals goes back to Vedic times and may possibly be a development peculiar to the new mixed culture incorporating Aryan, Dravidian and aboriginal elements. This makes it easier to understand the slaughtering of a number of buffaloes by the Gurkhas at the Durga Puja, and also the goat and buffalo sacrifices which take place in Bengal and Assam in honour of the Durga-Kali. The Brahmins who perform buffalo sacrifices are allowed to eat beef on this occasion, and, as it is the sacrificial meal, they do not violate the rules of caste by partaking of the sanctified food. Are not these the manifestations of the ritual rules that date back to very ancient days when the Brahmins still performed the sacrifices of cattle when the cow was not as yet taboo? Did not the horse supplant the original cattle in the Ashvamedha sacrifice considering that the stallion attained such peaks of importance as it never had before? We cannot delve deeper into this problem at present. The fact remains that the bull was the most important sacrificial offering among the Indo-Europeans, Hamito-Semites, Sumerians, Minoans, Mycenaeans, Tibeto-Chinese and many other people. We have already seen the grave importance attached to the sacrifice of the bull by the Rong people. We may say, in conclusion, that the investigation of the Tibeto-Burmese and the Indo-Tibetans proves a valuable asset to the better understanding of certain strains of Indian culture and religion and contributes, in addition, to the solution of the Mongoloid problem.

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[178] I. 162, 2-4, 163, 12.

(*e*) THE COMPLEXITY OF INDIAN CULTURE

The above exposition which shows that the Indo-Tibetans in certain parts of India did have a share in the development of Indian culture, makes the complexity of this culture even more apparent. The fact that the aboriginal Indian peoples of the pre-Dravidians, the Dravidians and the Austroasiatics, did have a large share in this formation was already recognised but not sufficiently stressed. M. Mayerhof makes a new synopsis of this in "Arische Landnahme und Indische Altbevölkerung im Spiegel der Altindischen Sprache."[179]

It is true that by their victory the Aryans conquered the "Dasyus, the hostile black tribes," stormed their castles and plundered their treasures.[180] "Thus an old culture breaks up under Indra's hammer, whom the demon princes Shambara, Arbuda, Sribanda, Pipru of the opposing side could not resist."[181] The princes mentioned have Austroasiatic names. The conquerors regarded them as demons, as is usually done by victorious tribes all over Asia. The gods, spirits and princes of the conquered peoples are classed as demons, although they are in some cases restored to their former status. In addition to his Aryan name "Lord of Host," Ganesha has also the title Heramba—in relation, perhaps, to the giant Hidamba in Mahabharata.[182] The name of the god of love, Kandarpa, has the Austroasiatic prefix "Kan." The Kusmandas Shakinis and Dakinis manifest a similar relationship in the matter of names.[183] This proves how ancient indigenous religious representations and rites intermingle. In the death sacrifice, Pindapitryajana, for ancestors is the name of the offered "clod" of Austroasiatic origin.[184]

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179. Saeculum, Vol. 11, H. 1, pp. 54-64.
180. op. cit. 57, Rigveda, IV, 16, 13 ; V, 4, 5; VII, 6.
181. op. cit. p. 58.
182. op. cit. p. 60.
183. op. cit. p. 60.
184. op. cit. p. 60.

The influence of the Dravidian tongue is even more noticeable. "Here, in fact, one gets the impression of a broad substratum, which is rebuffed with contempt by the first waves of the new ruling peoples, and which only slowly rises from below into its old rights: a class which bows but endures."[185] The Dravidian contribution to the neighbouring new Indo-Aryan tongue is specially remarkable. "Along with numerous names, mostly of native animals and plants, there are simple dishes, utensils, articles of clothing, words for huts, settlements, villages"[186] which bear the Dravidian stamp. The name Shiva is of Dravidian origin because in Tamil it means "to be red"; it is the equivalent of Rudra, "the red," in Rigveda.[187] The Sanskrit name for horse is "shali-hotra," the combination of the Austroasiatic (Santali, sad-om) sali and of the Dravidian शालि (Tamil, kutirai; Kannada, kudure; Telegu, gurra mu) ghota (ghutra).[188] The non-Aryan character of ghota has been remarked by others, "The word in question is generally held today as being non-Aryan."[189] The Sanskrit word "gaura" means a "kind of buffalo." "Can we look upon the gaura 'Buffalo' as a compound of an Aryan gau, go and the Austric (Kol) ur—'cattle' as in Santali and Mundari uri 'cattle, cows and buffaloes'?"[190] Ur and uri are strongly reminiscent of Ur, Aurochs. A well-known expression for bulls is "taurus," which again is difficult to accommodate into the Indo-German class. In Dravidian Kanarese, we find the corresponding turu "cattle, cow." It is, then, very significant that the two most important domestic animals, the ox and the horse, have non-Aryan names, as the Aryans were looked upon as the real cattle breeders and especially horse breeders. Of the two the ox is markedly the older in India as the Neolithic Indus culture shows. That is also true of the elephant. Its Sanskrit name is "karenu." The Dravidian root kari, "black," and enu (enugu in Telegu) "elephant," could be a purely Dravidian form.[191]

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[185] op. cit. p. 60.
[186] op. cit. p. 61.
[187] op. cit. p. 61.
[188] S. K. Chatterji, Polyglotism in Indo-Aryan, p. 183 sq.
[189] Mayerhof, op. cit. p. 55. note 7.
[190] S. K. Chatterji, Some Etymological Notes, Reprinted from A Volume of Indian and Iranian Studies, p. 69.
[191] op. cit. p. 68.

The name of the wise Palakapya, "Master Elephant-Tamer," is derived from the linking of two words which mean elephant; "pala," elephant, "ivory" in Dravidian and "kapya," "kapi," elephant, which is a non-Aryan word.[192] Chatterji concludes: "Although the number of positive and well attested instances is not large, from the few words from MIA and OIA, discussed above, it would be allowable to assume, as a subsidiary line of evidence, the presence of linguistic conflict and compromise in ancient India. The non-Aryan dialects were there, and they were going very strong two thousand years ago and even later—although no notice has been taken of them—officially in the Brahmanical, Jaina and Buddhists texts in Indo-Aryan."[193]

The representation of the passionate scenes in Indian drama called Arabhati, is connected with tulu arbhate, "terrible crying out" of the Dravidian.[194] Later Sanskrit sets forth a wholely Dravidian construction of sentence, "Gerundial chains of innumerable links which finally enter into a verbum finitum."[195]

Now if the language has been transformed by the influx of Dravidian thought and sentiment, it is obvious that the influence must be felt in the customs, habits, philosophy and religion, and it is for this reason that we have brought forward the above consolidator evidence. "The Dravidians were perhaps already ruled by Austroasiatic princes and the Aryan conquest only changed the rulers. But gradually they rose up out of the depth and changed everything which had been brought into the country, back to that which they had been used to for thousands of years : religion, customs, life and language."[196] This statement certainly seems exaggerated. The Aryan element was not altogether extinguished ; rather a mixture of the different components were formed ; a mixture of the pre-Dravidian, Dravidian, Austroasiatic and Aryan and in some districts, also of Tibetan. Upto the present day these mixed elements have to a considerable extent, preserved their original purity among the primitive tribes of pre-Dravidians, Dravidians, Austroasiatics and Himalayan-Tibetans and a careful comparison between their habits and customs and those of the ancient peoples, shows clearly how the Aryan conquerors had themselves been influenced by the subdued natives and later by incoming non-Aryans, and gives us a cue to the importance of these different cultural streams in the cultural build-up of the Indian people.

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[192] op. cit. p. 185.

[193] op. cit. p. 189.

[194] Mayerhof, Saeculum, op. cit. p. 61.

[195] op. cit. p. 62.

[196] op. cit. p. 63.

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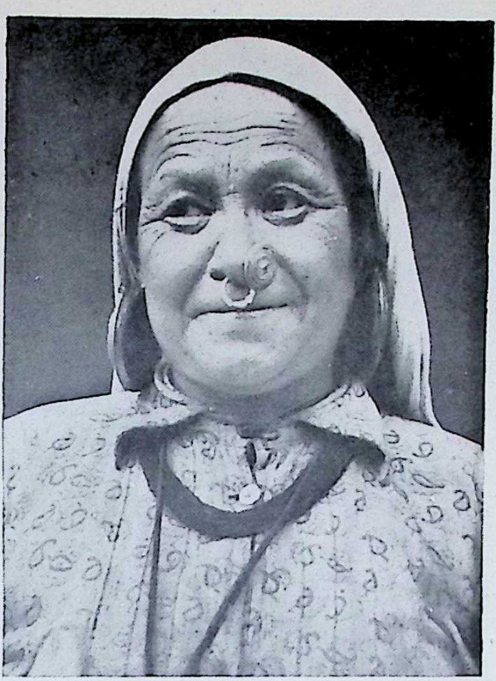
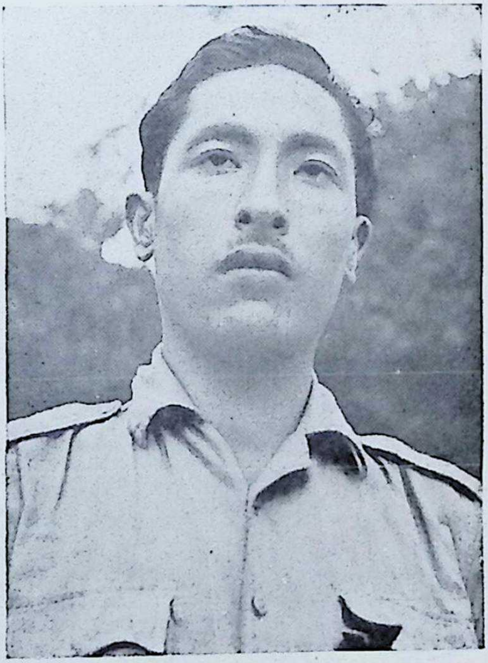
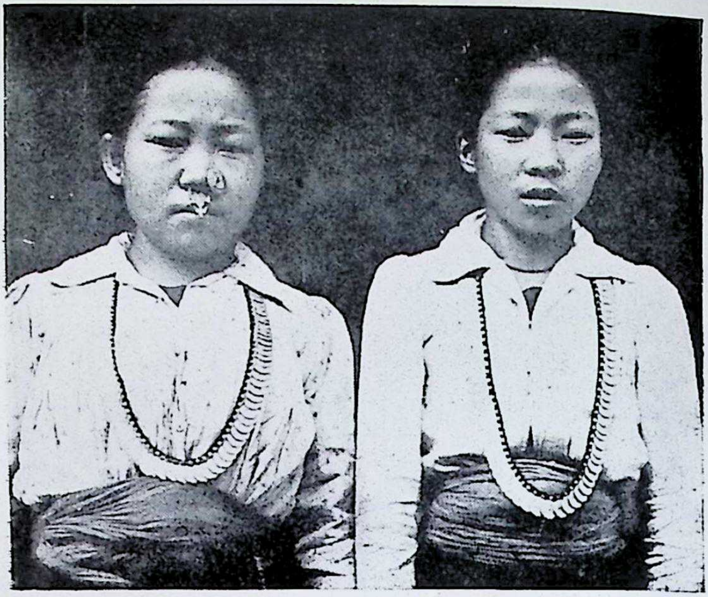


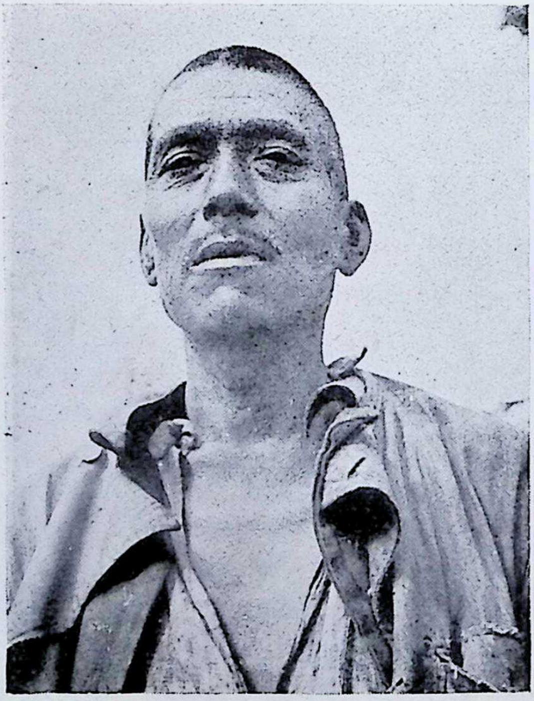
1. Rai woman



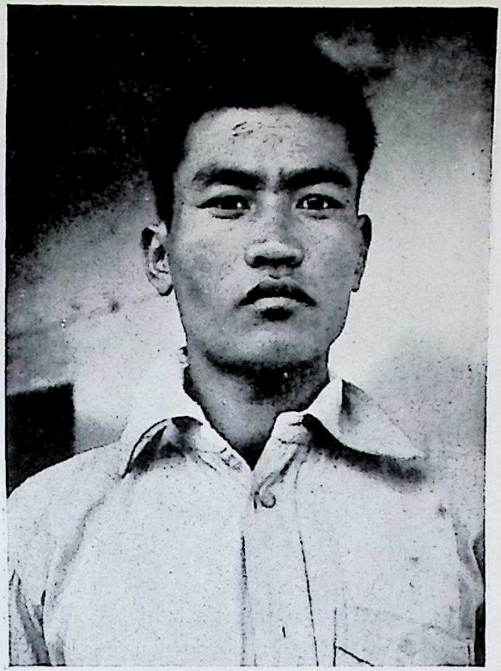
2. Rai young man



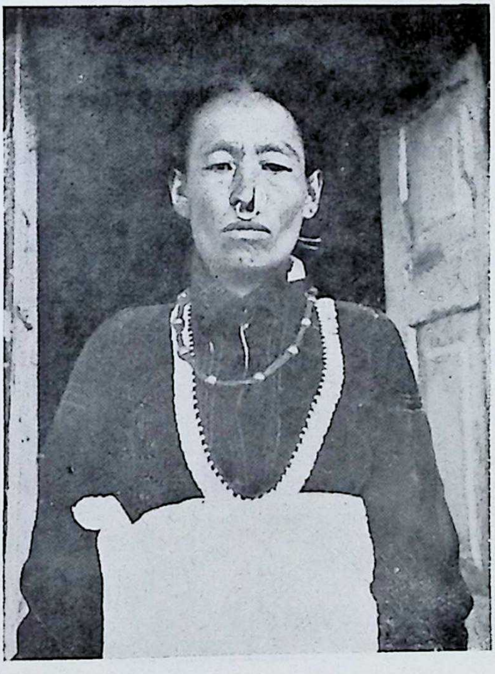
3. Rai girls



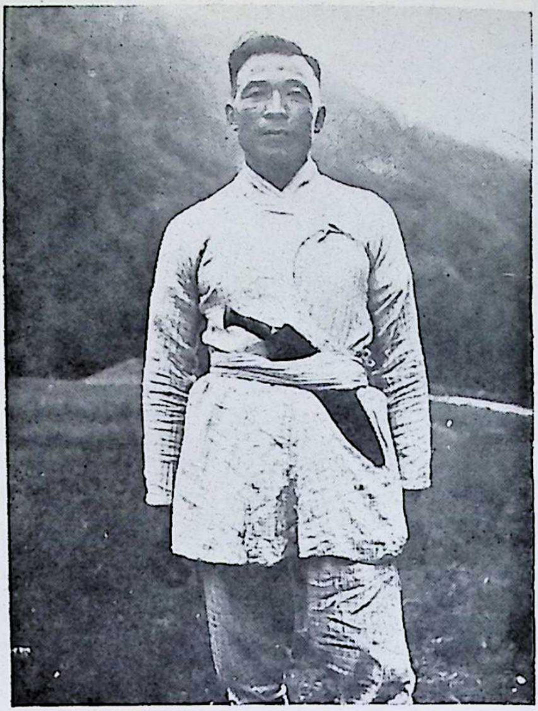
4. Limbu man



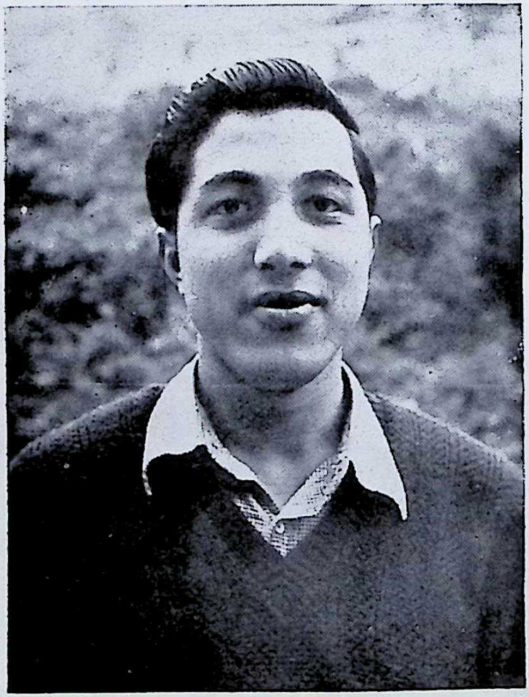
5. Limbu young man



6. Limbu woman



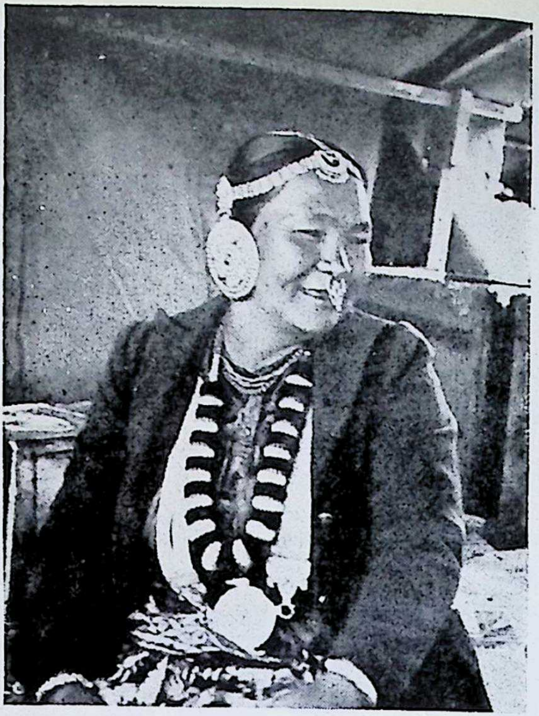
7. Mangar young man



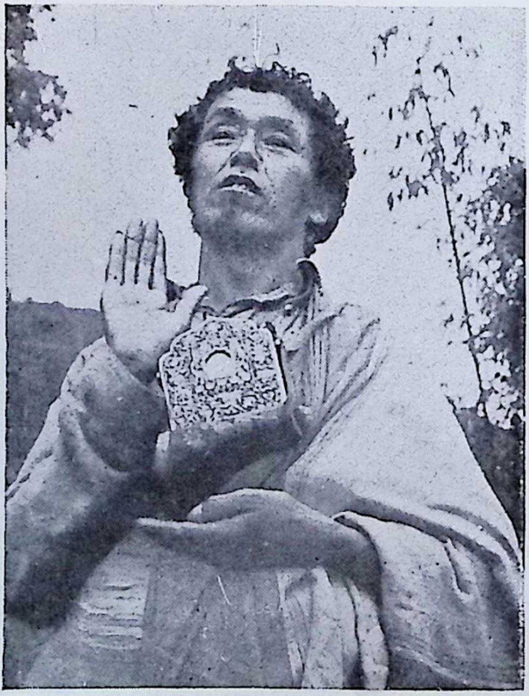
8. Newar young man

9. Newar girl

10. Princess of the Royal Family of Nepal



11. Dhamang woman



12. Sharpa monk

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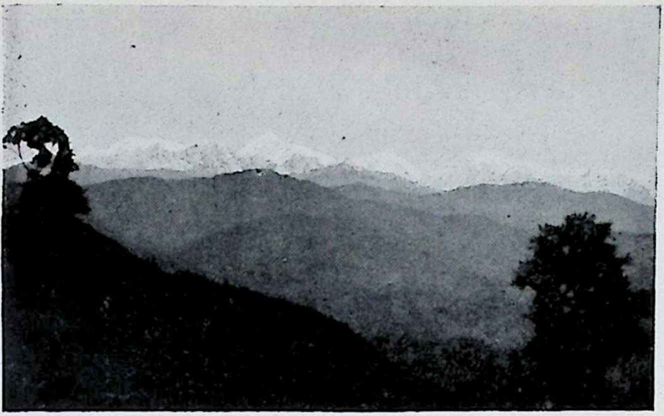
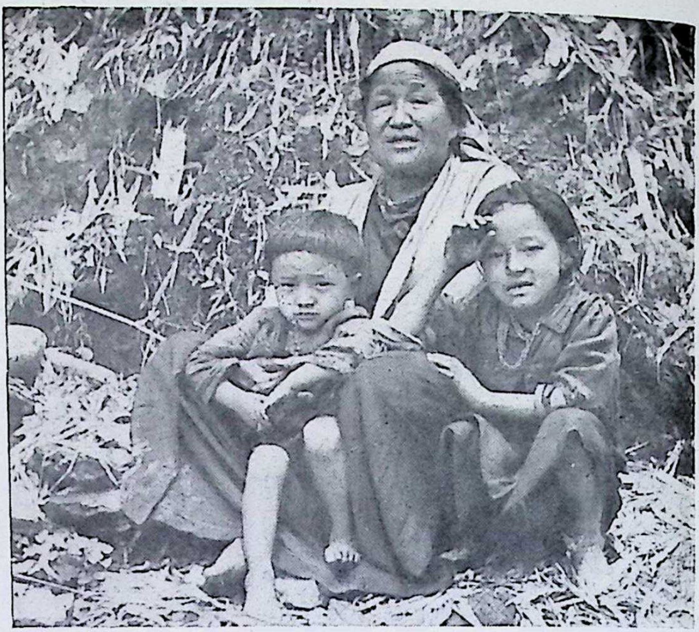
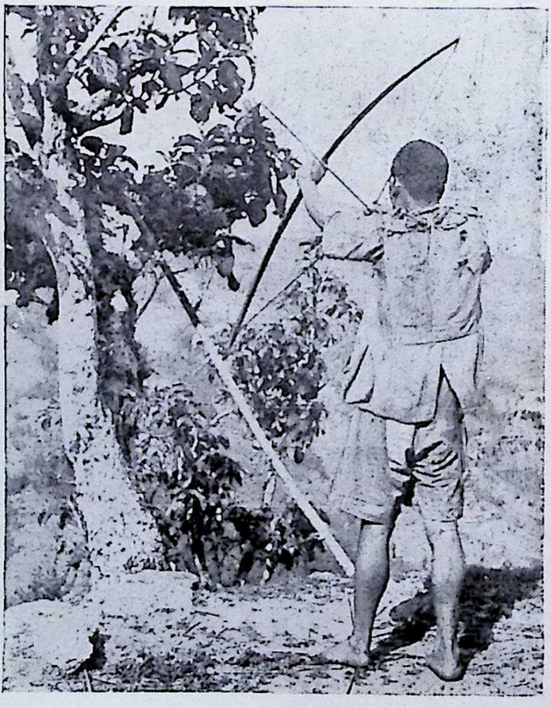


17. Kangchenjunga

18. Kangchenjunga



19. Lepcha grandmother with grandchildren



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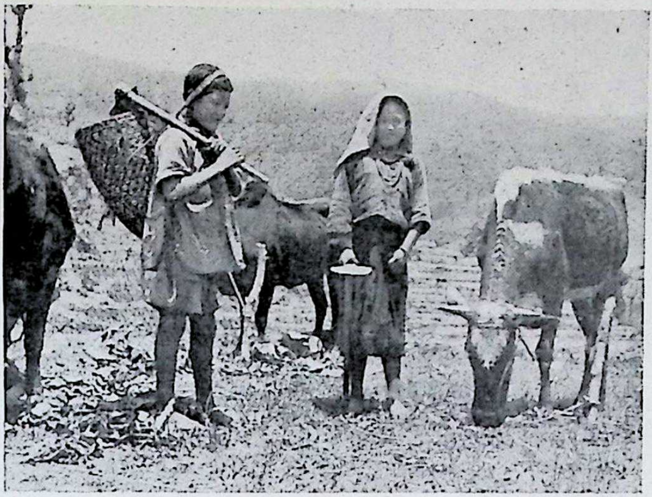
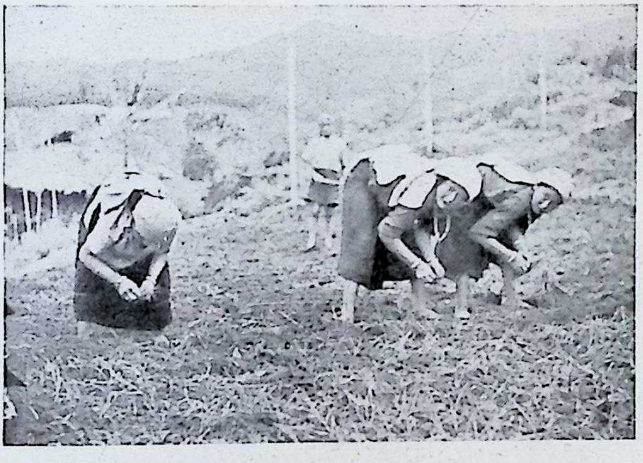
22. Lepcha hunter



25. Lepcha children starting for field work



26. Lepcha women planting rice

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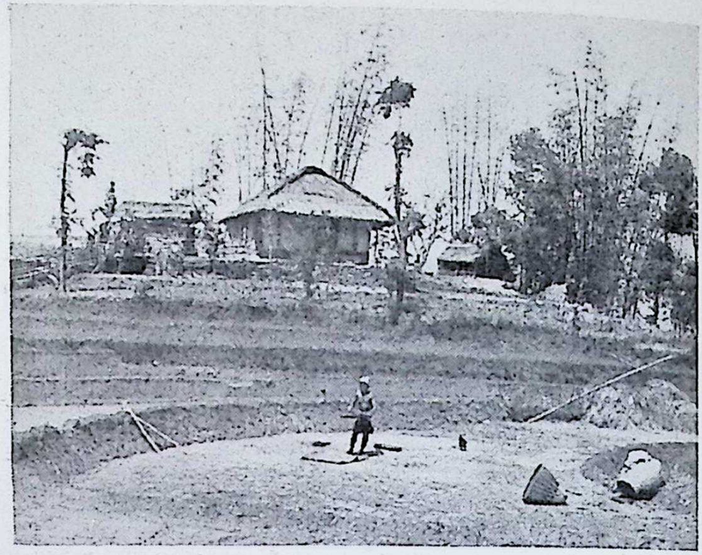
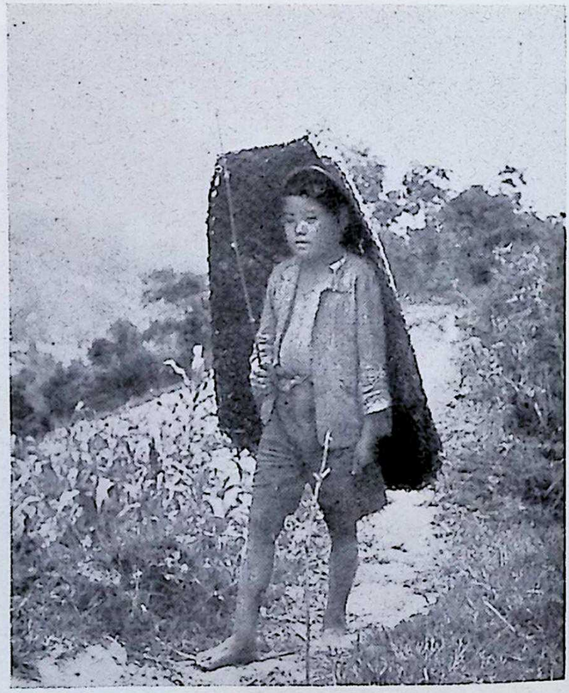
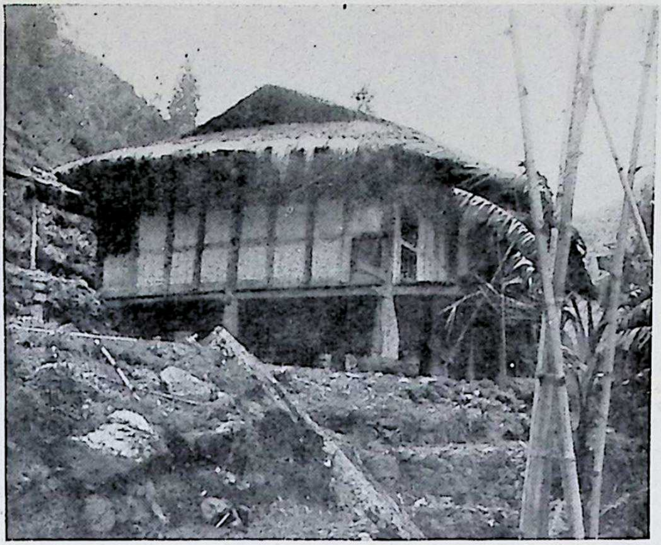


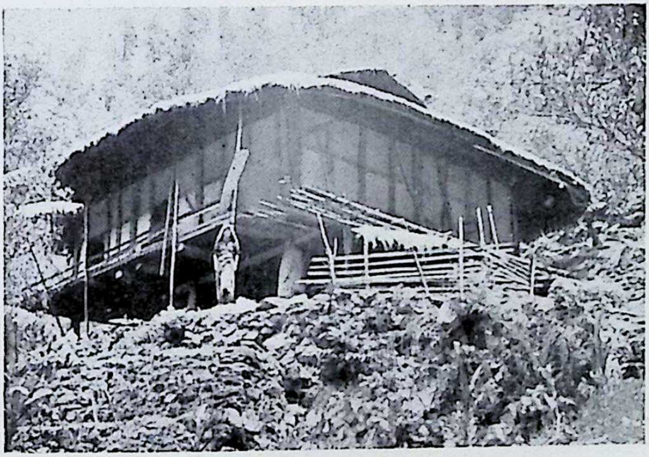
27. Lepcha farmer winnowing rice



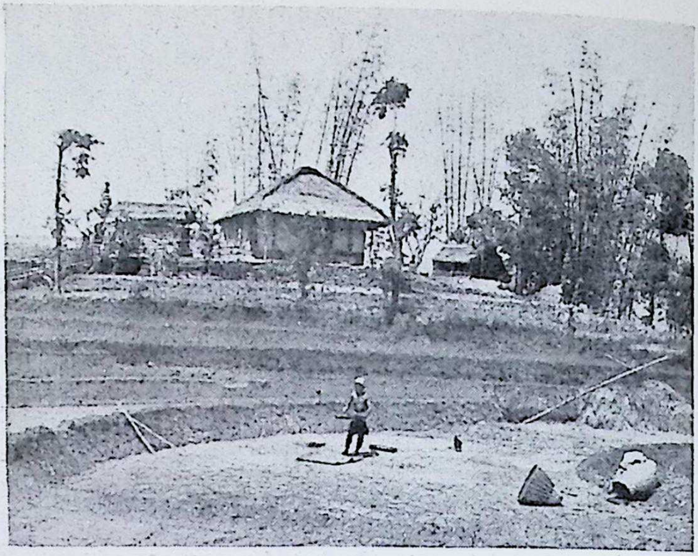
28. Lepcha shepherd with rain-cap



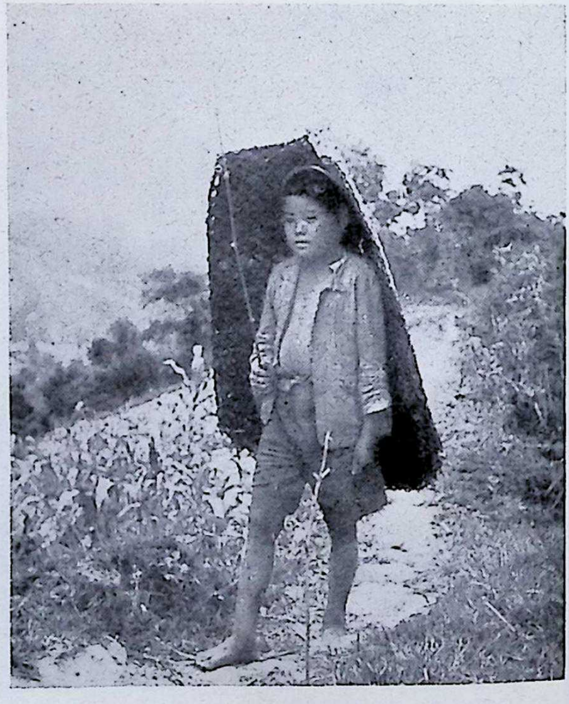
29. Lepcha house



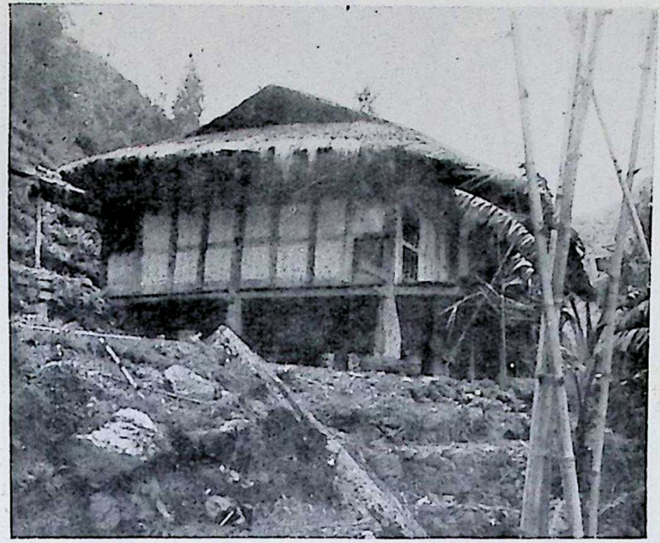
30. Lepcha house



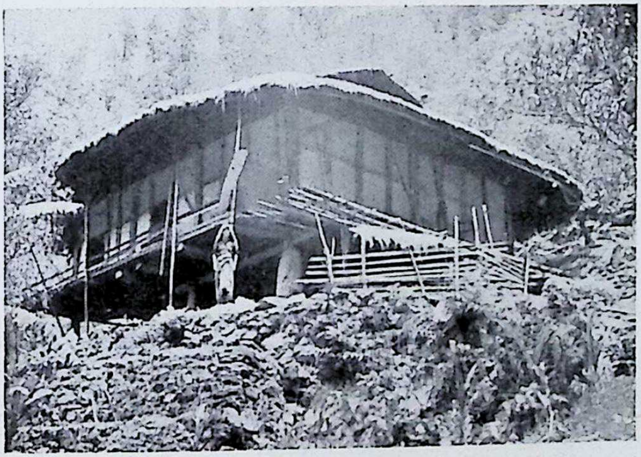
27. Lepcha farmer winnowing rice



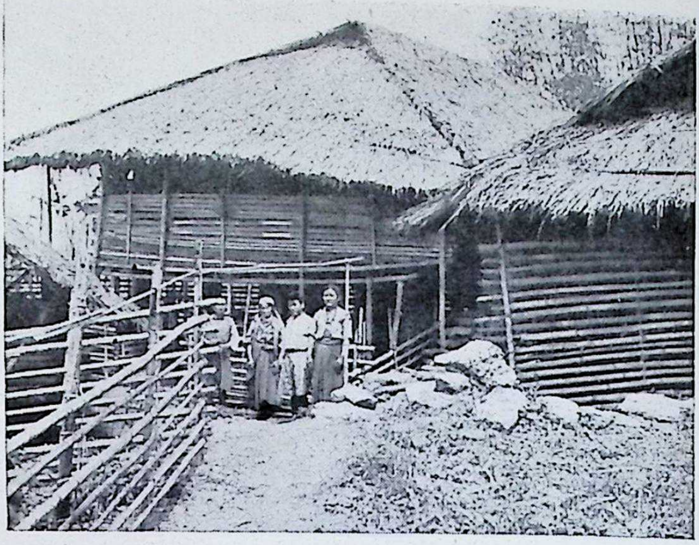
28. Lepcha shepherd with rain-cap



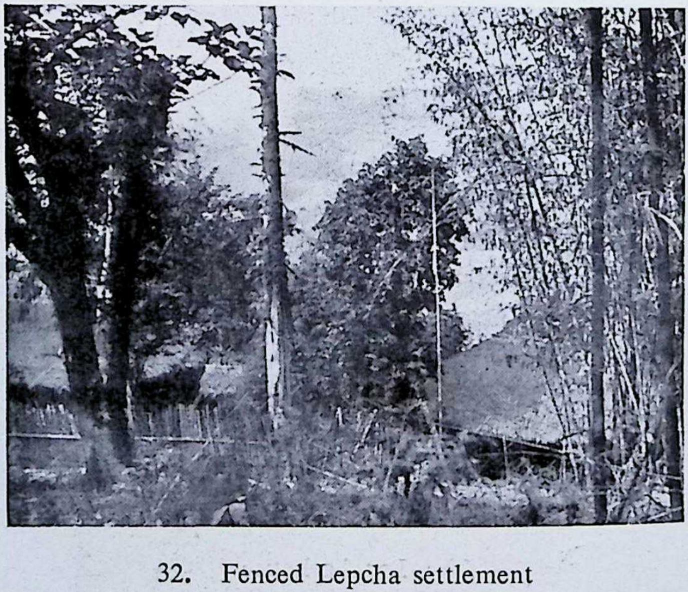
29. Lepcha house



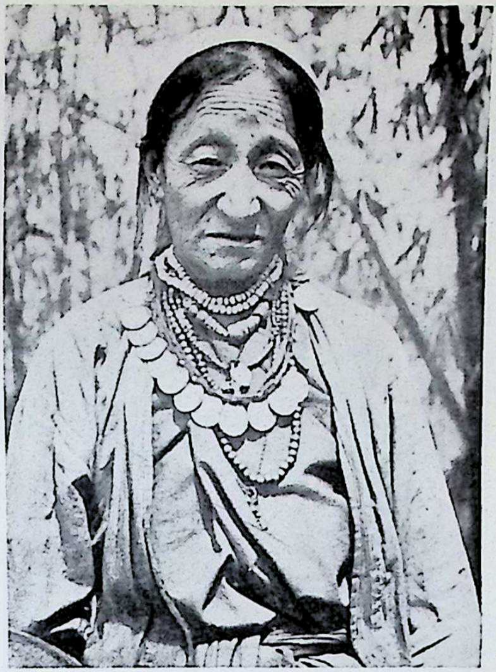
30. Lepcha house



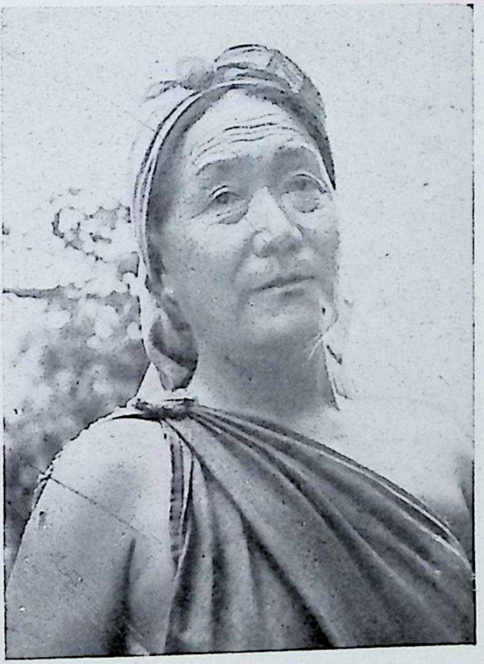
31. Lepcha house with stores



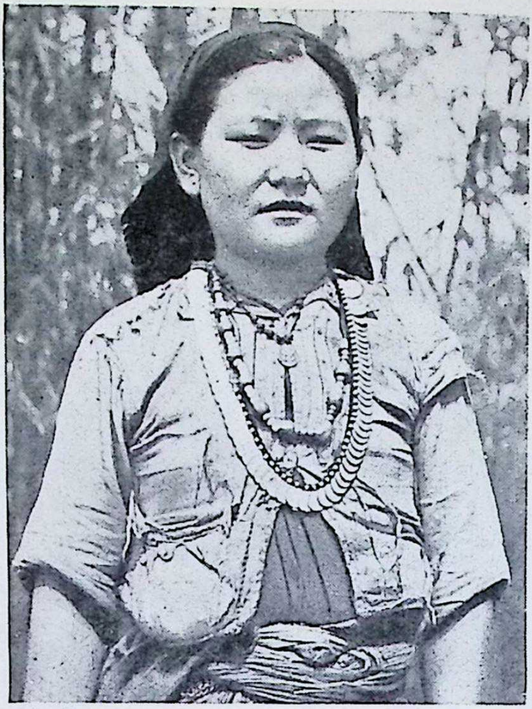
32. Fenced Lepcha settlement



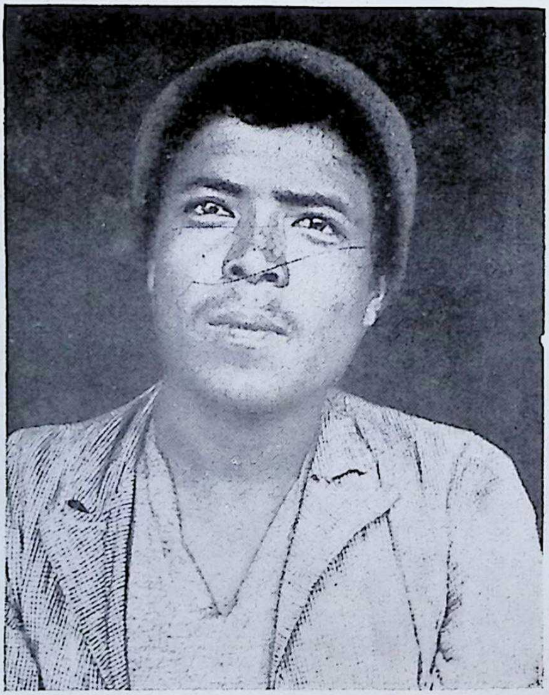
33. Lepcha woman



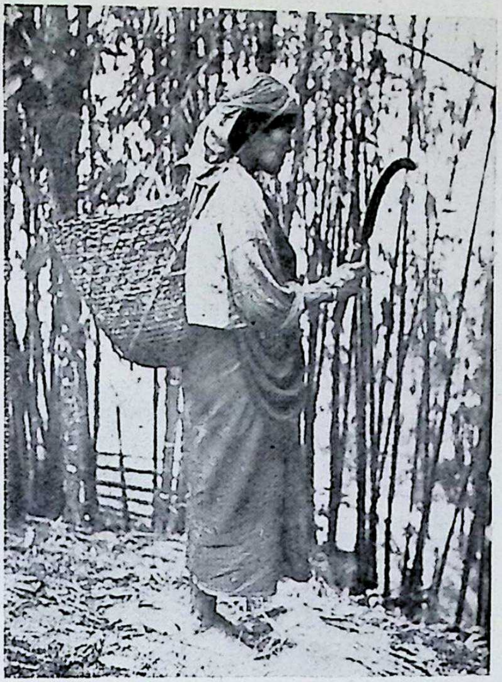
34. Lepcha woman



35. Lepcha young woman



36. Lepcha young man

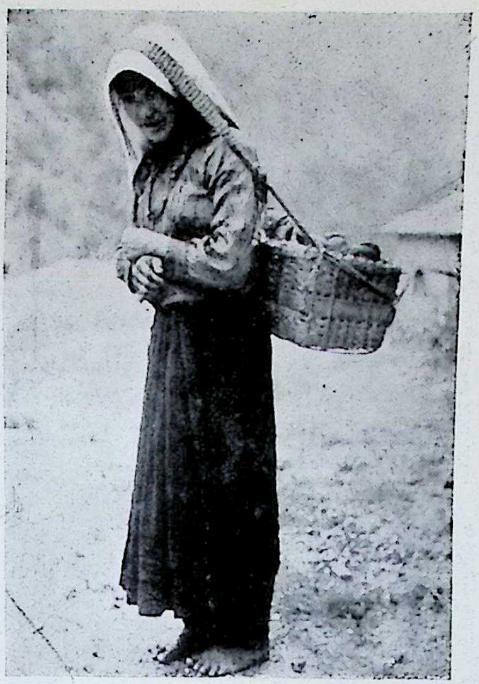


37. Lepcha grandmother cutting bamboo

38. Lepcha children

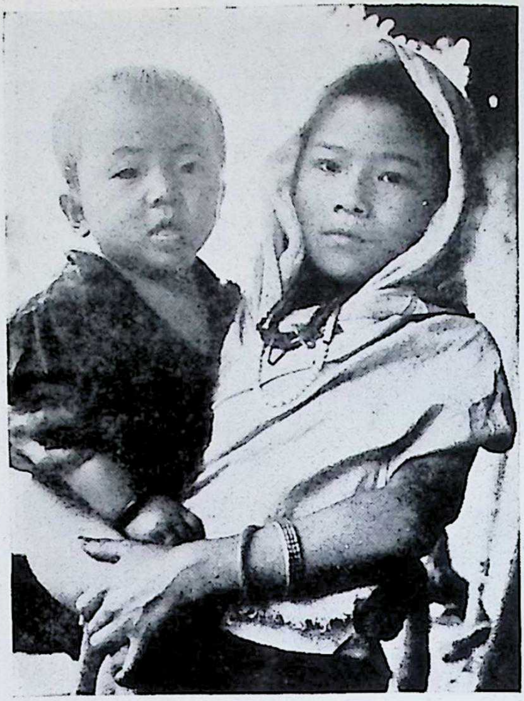
39. Lepcha girl cutting bamboo

40. Cultivations of the Rai

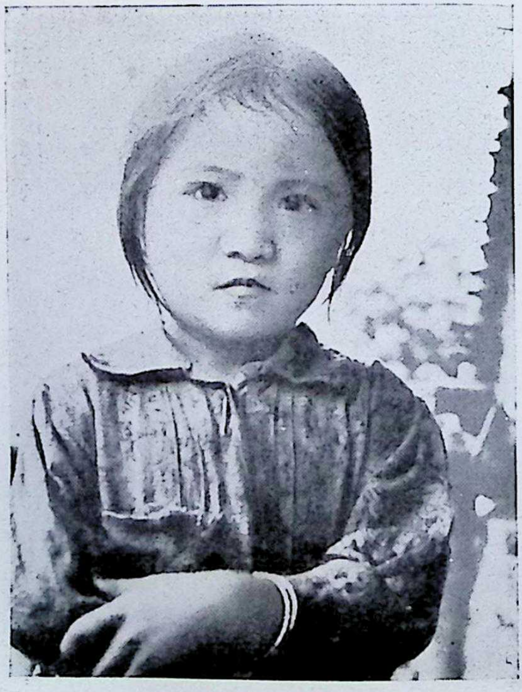


41. Lepcha mother carrying her baby

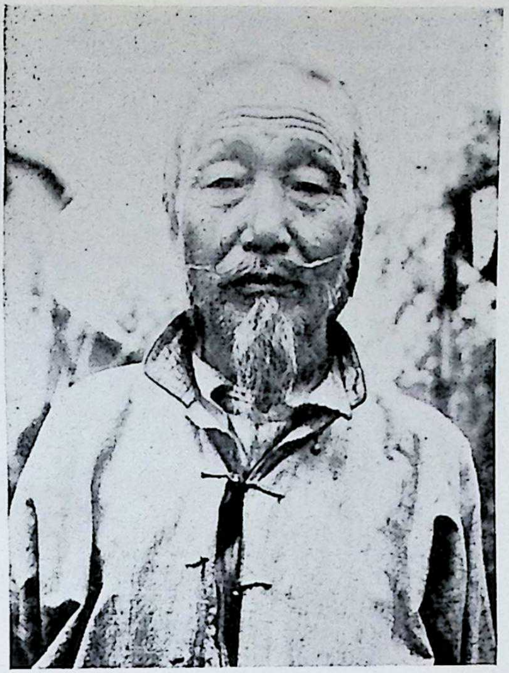
42. The baby in the cradle



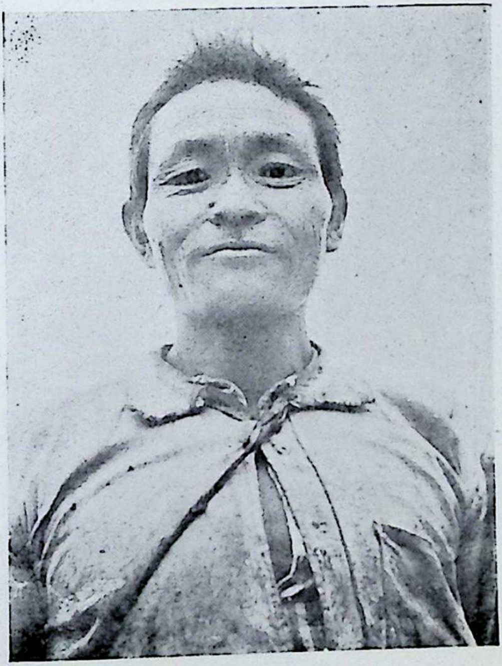
43. Lepcha girl carrying a baby



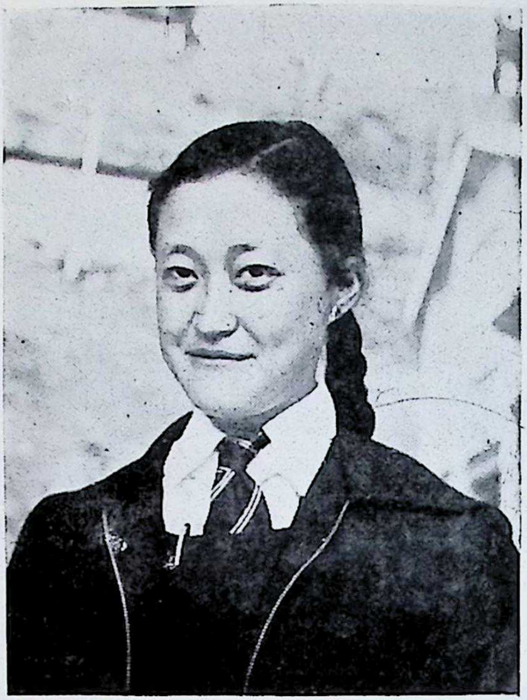
44. Lepcha girl



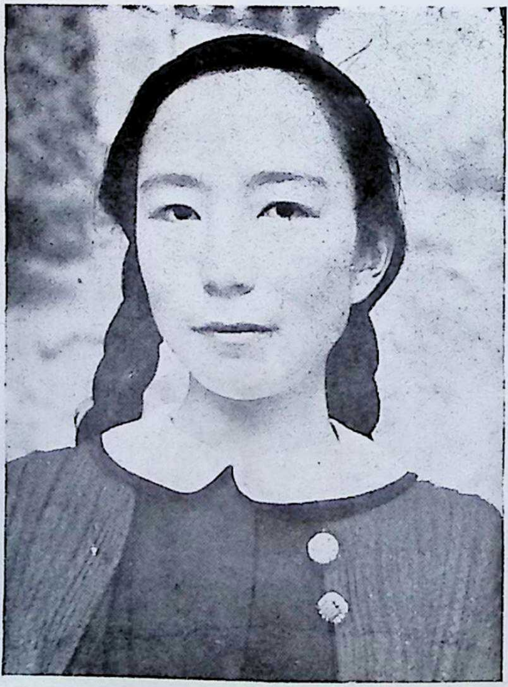
45. Lepcha man



46. Lepcha man



47. Sikkim Bhodja girl

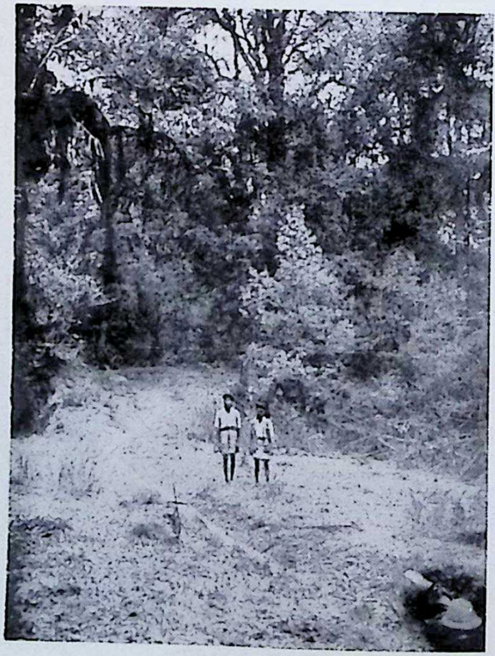


48. Sikkim Bhodja girl

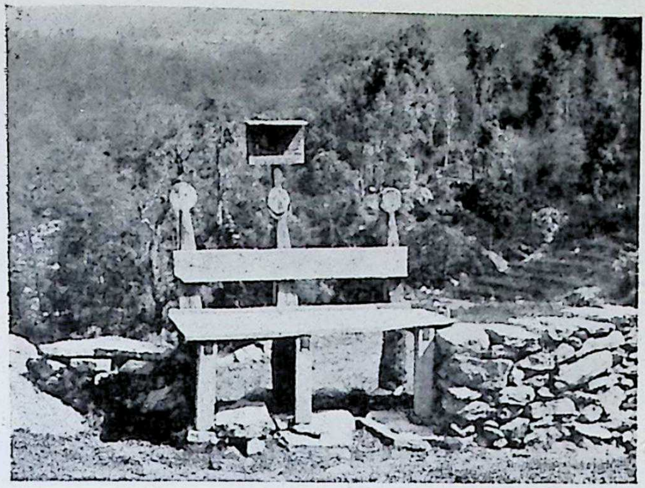
49. Little temple at the river bank

50. Holy tree with offerings

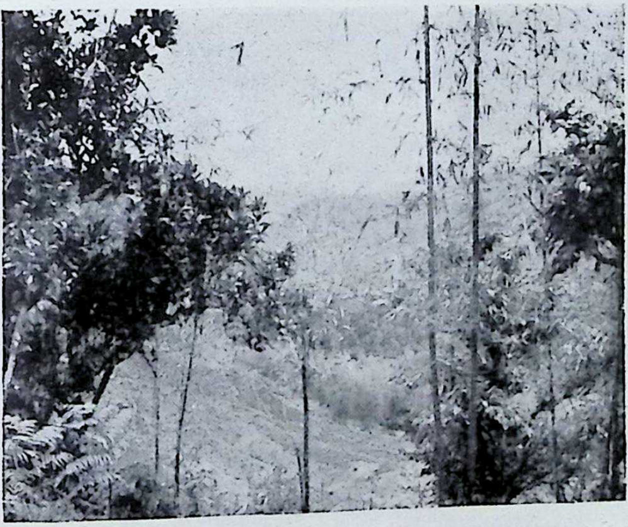
51. Forest of Sikkim



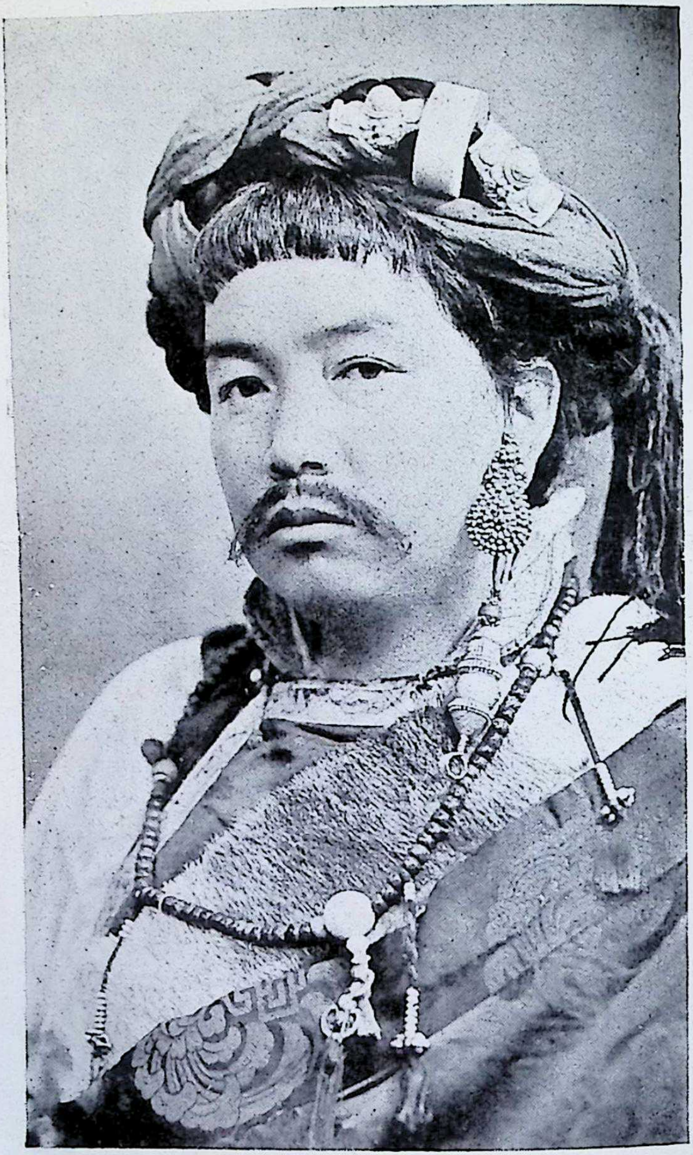
52. Forest of Sikkim



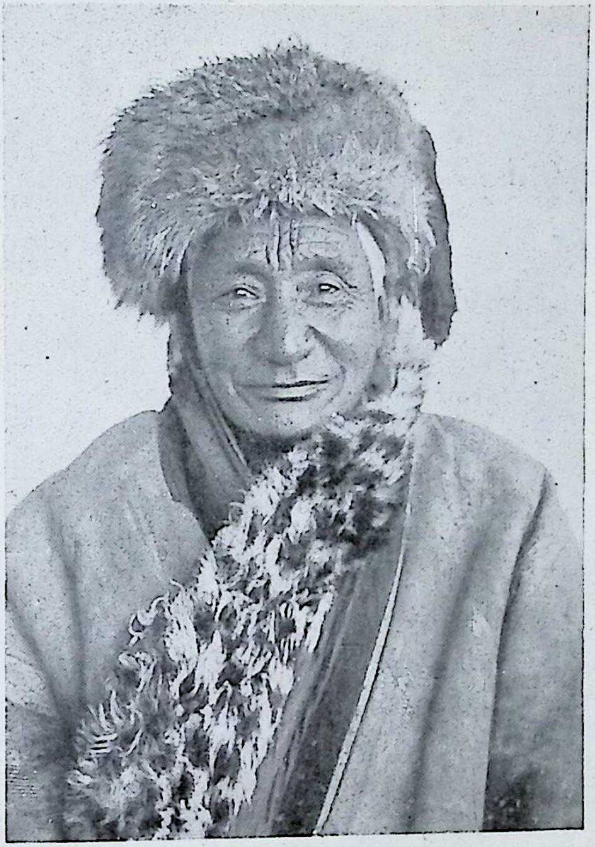
53. Monument for the deceased



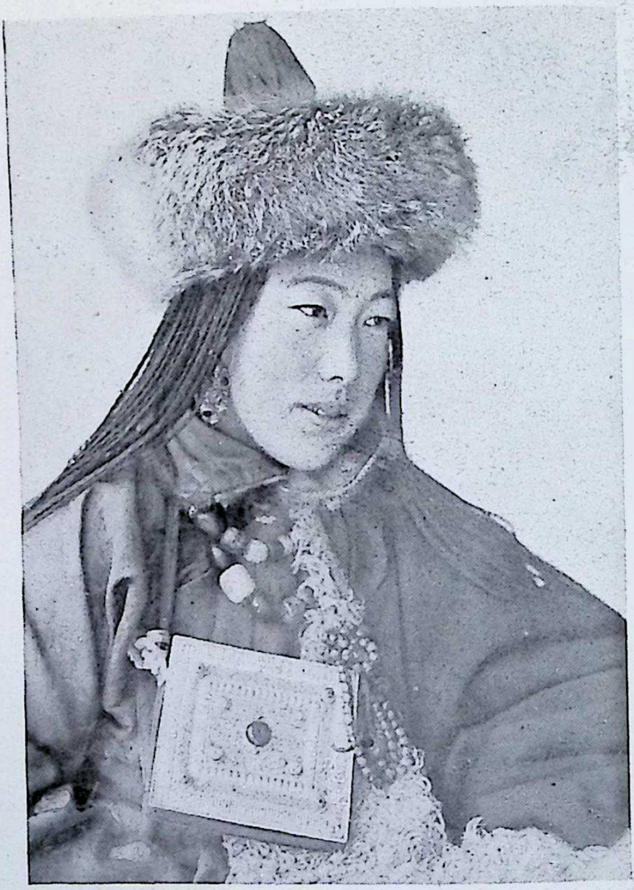
54. View of the Terrai



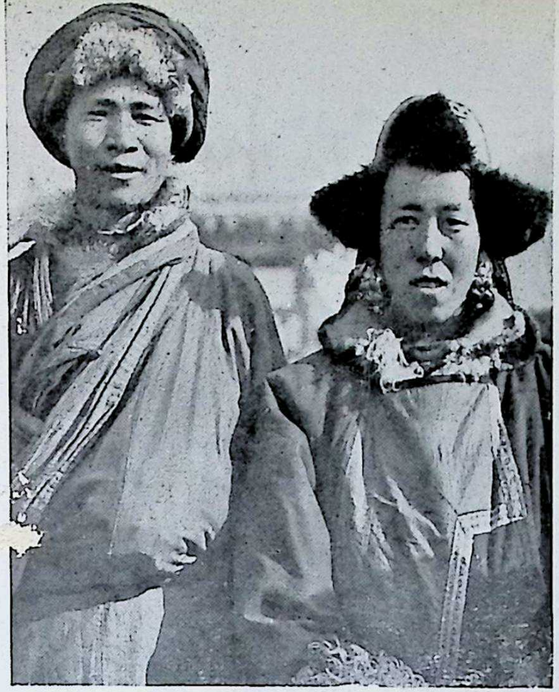
55. Khampa chieftain



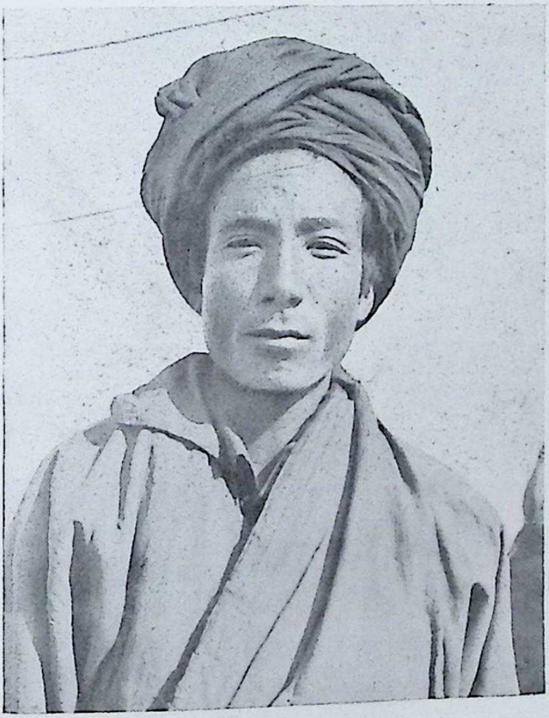
56. Amdopa chieftain



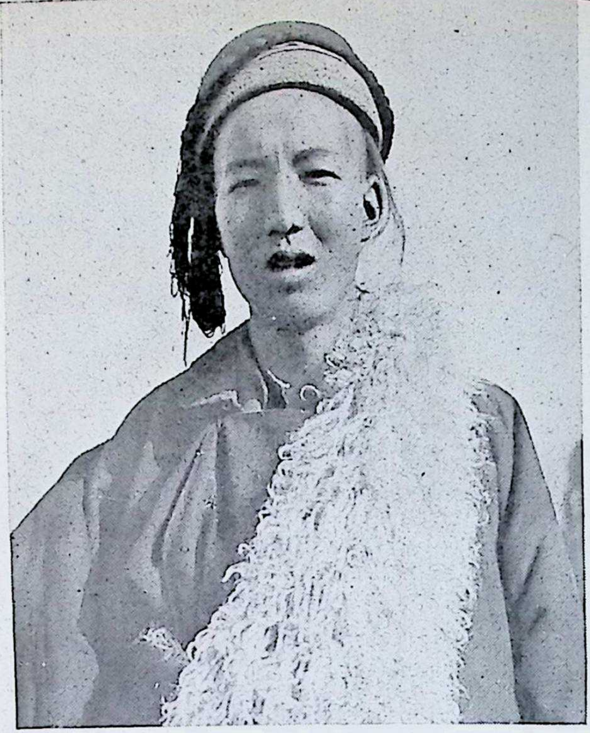
57. Amdopa woman



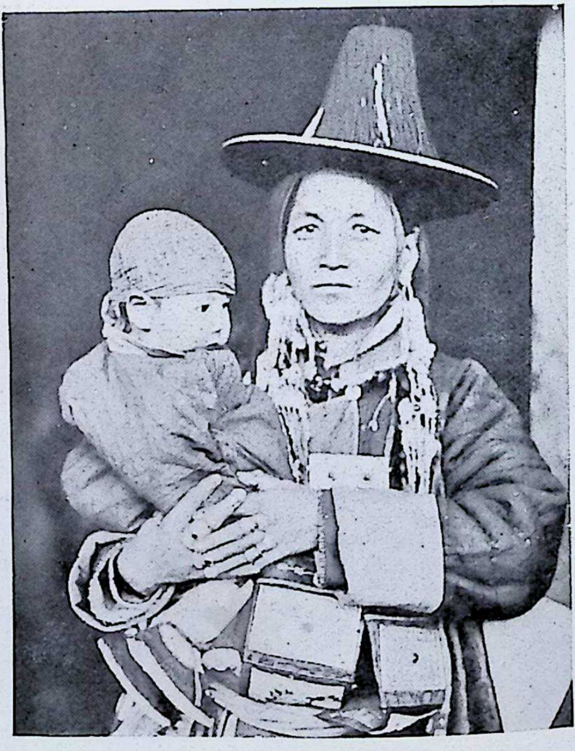
58. Amdopa couple



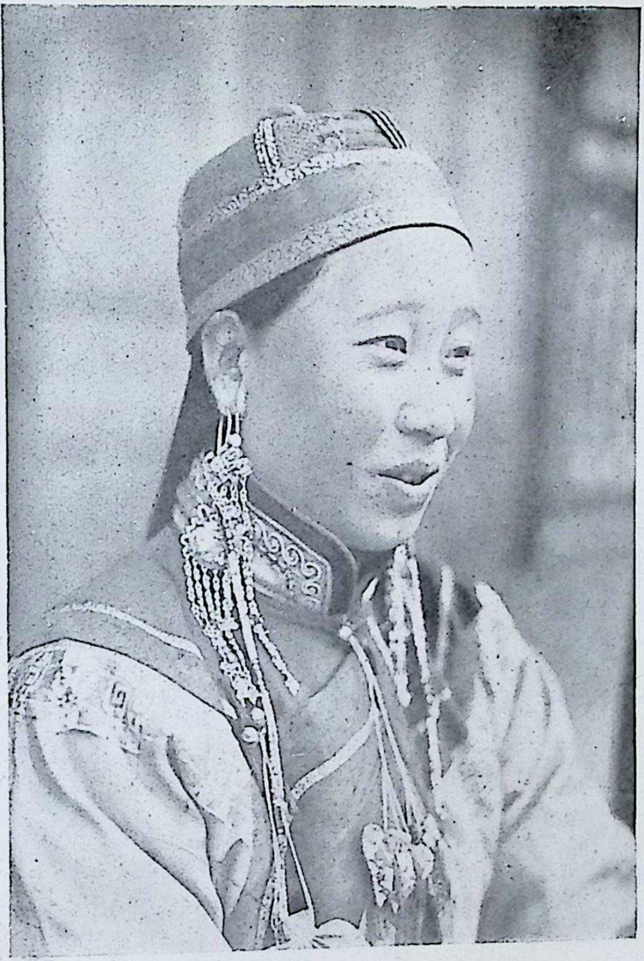
59. Amdopa man



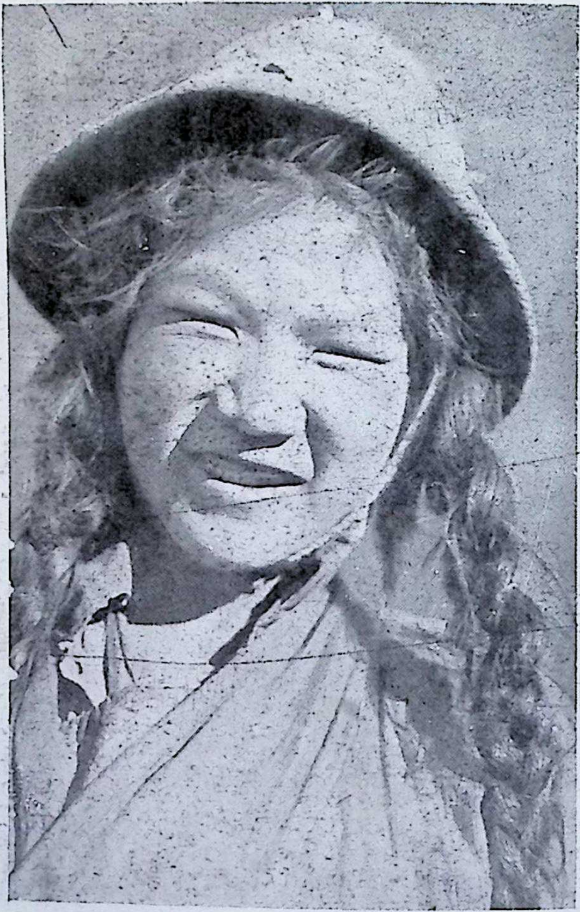
60. Amdopa youth



61. Amdopa mother with child

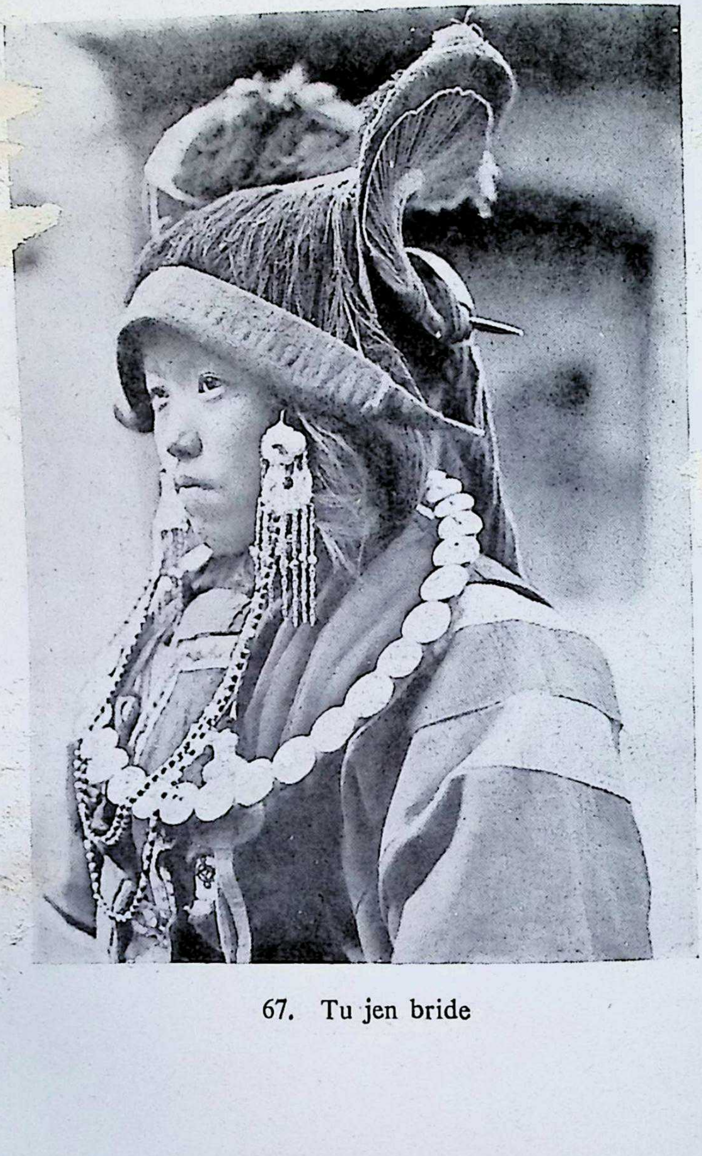


62. Amdopa young woman

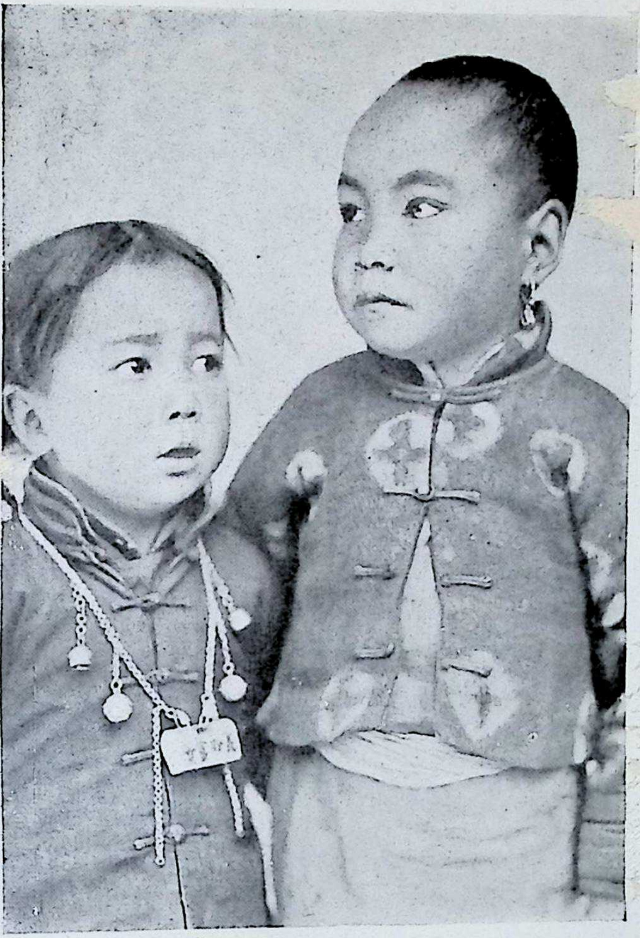


63. Amdopa girl

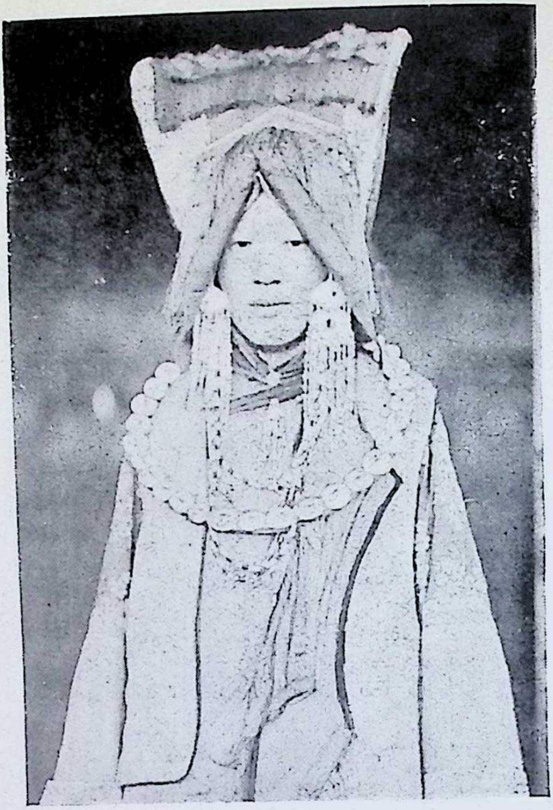
64. Amdopa boy



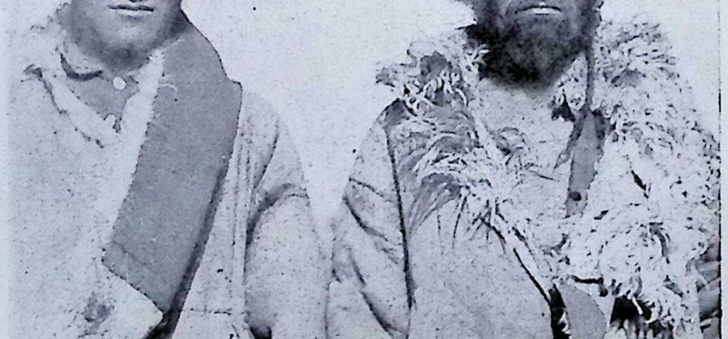
67. Tu jen bride



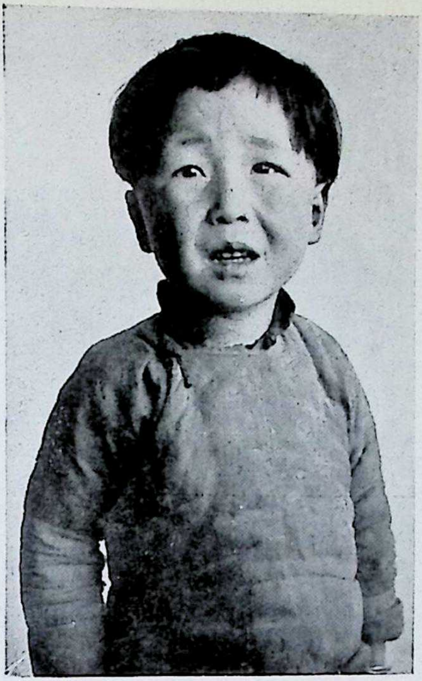
68. Tu jen children



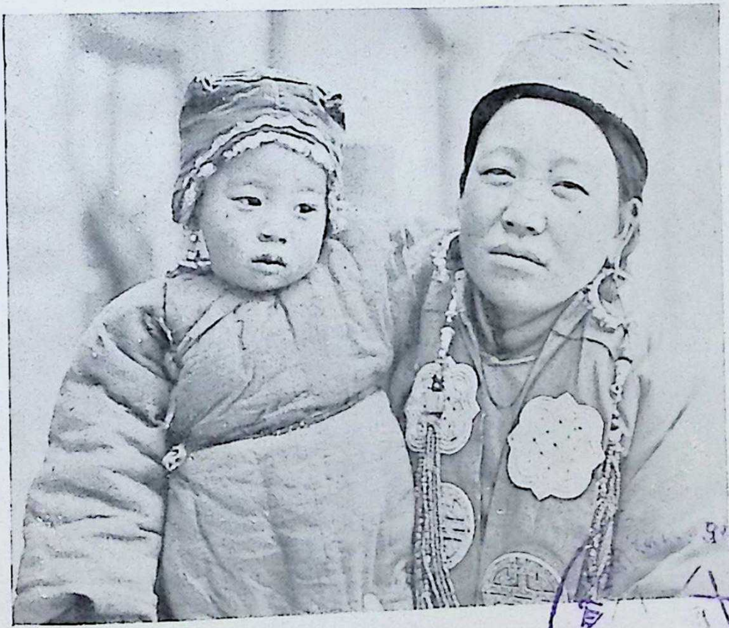
69. Tu jen woman



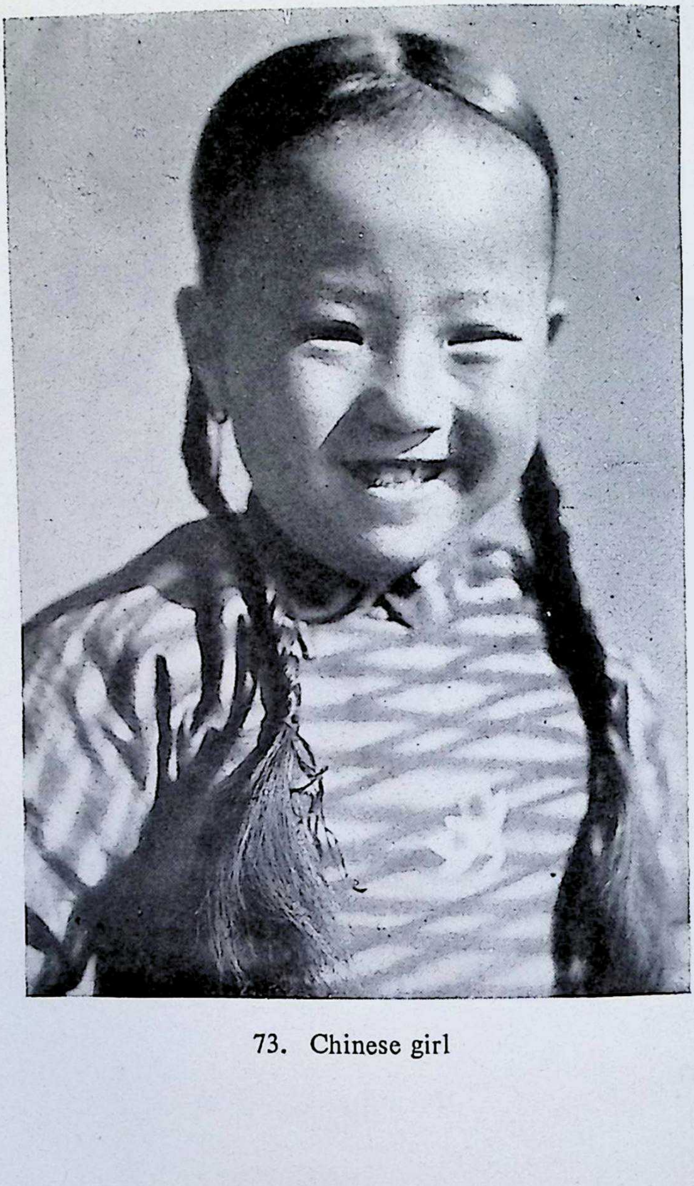
70. Mongols from Edzingol



71. Chinese boy



72. Mongolian mother with child



73. Chinese girl

2995

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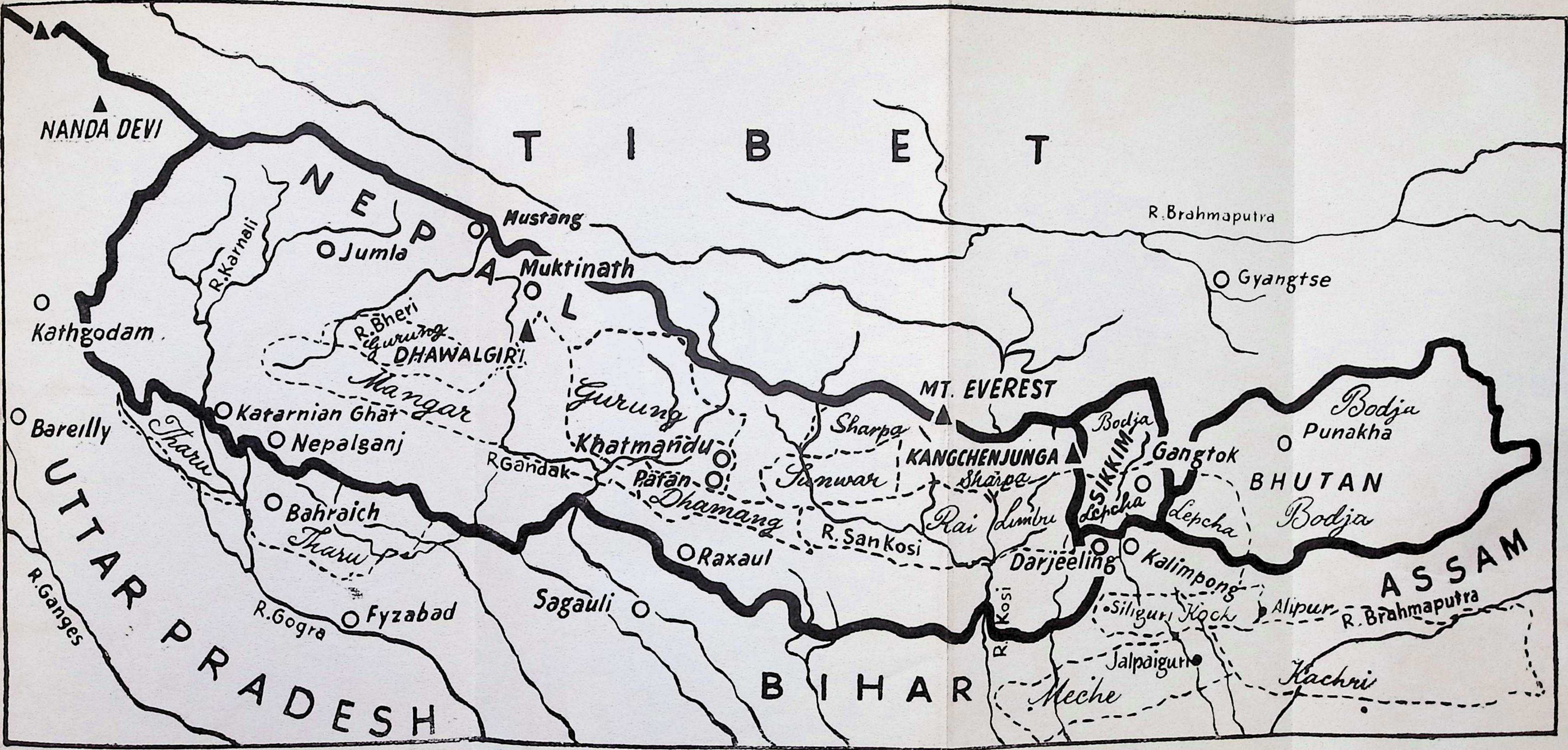
NANDA DEVI
TIBET
NEPAL
Mustang
Jumla
Muktinath
R. Karnali
Kathgodam
R. Bheri
Gurung
DHAWALGIRI
Mangar
Gurung
Katarnian Ghat
Bareilly
Nepalganj
Tharu
Khatmandu
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R. Gandak
Dhamang
Sunwar
Sharpa
MT. EVEREST
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R. Ganges
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Tharu
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ASSAM
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R. Brahmaputra
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Jalpaiguri
BIHAR
Meche
Kachri

The tribal area of the Indo-Tibetans

305.8
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Author of

Origin and Development of the Chinese Culture

(German-Chinese,
Yenchowfu,
China, 1935)

The Nomads of Tibet

(German,
Vienna, 1949)

"I am very strongly impressed by the great work and the profound knowledge."

*(Prof. Dr. E. W. Meyer, Ambassador to India,
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"A major contribution to the studies of Nomadism."

*(American Political Science Review, Vol. XLVII,
Dec. 1953.)*

"Through his long stay in this region and his intimate association with the people, Hermanns was able to penetrate deeper into their culture than anybody else."

*(Prof. Dr. W. Eberhard, Univ. of California, Berkley,
in Anthropos, Freiburg, Sw. 1950, Vol. 45, p. 942 sq.)*